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ABSTRACT

The concern over cannabis and its possible effects have prompted the establishment of the National Institute on Drug Abuse. This project was funded as one of a number of international studies focussing on chronic cannabis use in its natural setting. Four major ethnic South African groups were examined relative to their use of cannabis: African, Colored, Indian and White (1,152 high school students and 701 university students). The hypotheses tested were that the African students would smoke more cannabis and view it more naturally than the other ethnic groups, and that the English-speaking urban Whites would be more familar with drugs in general than their Arfikaan-speaking counterparts. A 10-page questionnaire, compiled for administration to the student sample (included in the appendix), reveals that there were about the same precentage of users among Whites and Africans at both high school and university levels. More high school students had tried drugs while more university students smoked cannabis regularly. In both categories, Africans started drug experimentation at the youngest age. (Author/BMW)

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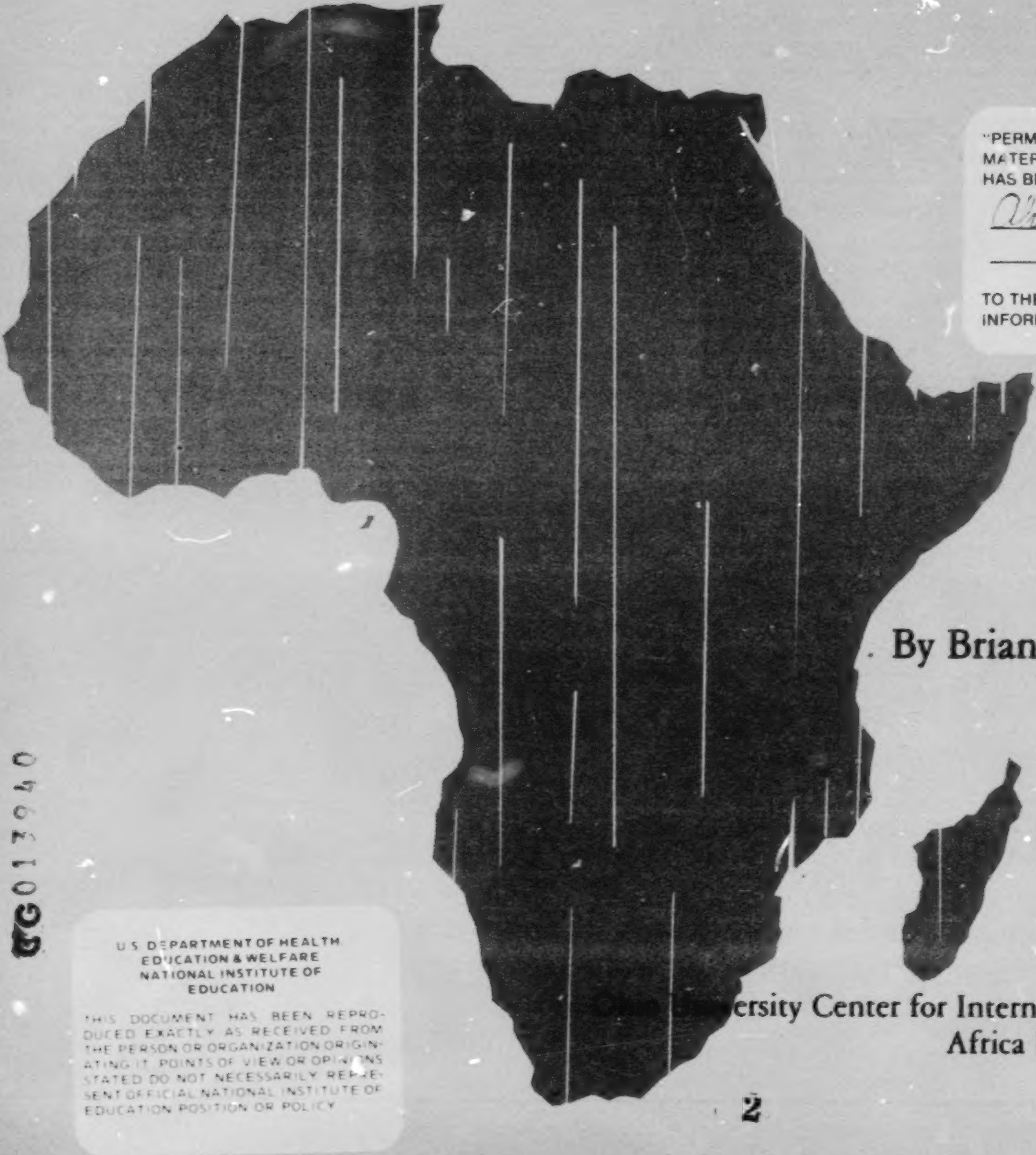

By Brian M. du Toit

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AUTHORS' BACKGROUND

BRIAN M. DU TOIT is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Florida. Born in South Africa he holds a B.A. and M.A. from the University of Pretoria and a Ph.D. from the University of Oregon. He has conducted field work among American Indians, in stone-age New Guinea, in an isolated valley of White South Africans, and among urban Africans. Between 1972-74 he directed a research project on cannabis and its use in Africa with actual field study in Natal. This report on high school seniors and university students is a part of that study. Du Toit has published numerous articles and authored or edited a number of books.

DRUG USE AND SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS

by

Brian M. du Toit

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I. INTRODUCTION

While American students were heartily experimenting with uppers and downers, their white South African counterparts were cautiously breaking the Cannabis barrier. While L.S.D. and similar mind altering substances were common elements for the more daring student in American high schools, their age mates in South Africa had hardly heard about these drugs. And while state legislatures and the highest office in the U.S. talk of legalizing the use of "pot", *Cannabis sativa* in South Africa is classified with heroin, opium and L.S.D. as "Prohibited Dependence-producing Drugs".

The reasons for these differences are complex and are presented in greater detail in my study of *Cannabis and its use in Africa* (du Toit 1978).[1] It would be sufficient at this stage merely to suggest the more obvious reasons.

I.1. Background

When Whites under the Dutch East Indies Company settled at the Cape in 1652 Cannabis was already smoked by indigenous groups, including the Khoikhoi, San, and Bantu speakers. For the next three centuries Whites associated this drug primarily with the traditional African population and secondarily with a lower socio-economic life style. This latter life style implied an absence or a loss of Christian values, degradation and, of course, escapism in the form of mind altering experiences.

But there were two other major population groups, namely Indians and Coloureds. In 1860 the *Truro* sailed from Madras with Indian migrant laborers who were supposed to work on a temporary basis in the Natal sugar plantations. These new arrivals brought with them a tradition of cannabis use and soon after arrival they had established supply networks from the local Zulu and started their own gardens. In time they became permanent residents of South Africa and today constitute the largest group of Indians outside the Indian subcontinent and Sri Lanka.

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[1] Published by A.A. Balkema, P.O. Box 1675, Rotterdam, The Netherlands.

The fourth major population group which is legally recognized in South Africa is the Coloured community. These people are the offspring of biological unions between members of the previously mentioned groups as well as other ethnic groups such as the Malays who originally served as slaves to the early Dutch settlers.

As suggested above, the African and Indian population groups had long-standing traditions of cannabis use. These traditions had ritual and religious overtones and frequently had medicinal and curative contexts, this is partly due to the association of cannabis with the laboring color case, i.e. African, and partly due to the negative connotation of altered states of consciousness; Whites frowned on the use of drugs and abhorred the smoking of cannabis. In time the people who were classified as Coloured may have initiated the smoking of cannabis due in part to association with members of the lower color castes and in part to their frustrating marginal situation.

By the early 1970's it was not unusual for young South Africans, of whatever ethnic classification, to smoke cannabis at parties. Many of these youths smoked the drug on a regular basis and the believed association between ethnic group and/or lower socio-economic class with cannabis use was rapidly disappearing.

I.2. South Africa's Ethnic Groups

Before outlining the research which underlies this study and discussing the research sample, it would be useful to clarify in some greater detail the position of the major ethnic groups. For reasons of comparison and due to differing cultural traditions, we will compare the indigenous Africans with White settlers, Indian migrants, and the mestizo Coloured population.

When historical sources first reported on the region under discussion it was occupied by Khoikhoi and San in the south and a southward migrating Negroid population of Bantu speakers. There is strong evidence to suggest that these latter people and possibly also the Khoikhoi already cultivated and used cannabis. In time, the San who hunted the south and east coast, were gradually pressured into ecological, marginal settings and today are found primarily in the Kalahari desert and neighboring areas. The Khoikhoi had contact with both politically better organized Bantu speakers and with technologically superior White settlers. There are suggestions that the Khoikhoi society started to decline at about the same time as Whites settled the southern tip of the continent in the mid seventeenth century. In time large numbers were decimated due to disease and warfare, and genetic crosses with Whites and Negroids resulted in numerous mestizo groups who absorbed remnant Khoikhoi.

The Negroid settlers are basically of two major strains, differentiated linguistically, namely Sotho and Nguni. In the latter category would be found the Zulu speakers who constitute the major component of Africans in this school sample. The research project was located in Natal, a province of South Africa which incorporates the traditional regions occupied by the Zulu. The modern port city of Durban has attracted large numbers of urban migrants most of whom are now permanent residents of the city and its peri-urban zones. Numerous schools, catering to various educational levels, operate in the African residential areas and the majority of seniors elect to go to the Black university or are forced to take a job upon completing twelfth grade. A few can attend the medical school in Durban or go to one of the other universities. However, this would depend on their course of study. The schools which are included in this sample are all located in the urban areas around Durban and would cater principally to children of urban residents. The University of Zululand, which constitutes the Black university sample, attracts students who are Zulu-speaking from most of South Africa. While it is located in a rural area most of the students can be said to derive from cities and larger towns. One would, however, expect a larger rural component at this level than among the schools included in this study.

The White population group of South Africa derives primarily from early Dutch, French and British settlers though other nationalities also contributed. The first Dutch settlement at what is now Cape Town was settled in 1652 which at that time had no stage expansion and homesteading goals. In time, gardeners and cattle owners moved further from the Fort, where the Dutch established a supply station for their ships sailing to and from the East, and finally were allowed to become free burghers. Since the route north and west from the settlement center took these early farmers into less fertile drier regions, the tendency was to claim farm land and graze their cattle along the east coast. In time they met and clashed with the southward migrating Nguni speakers and typical frontier skirmishes resulted.

As Napoleon was expanding his influence in Europe, Britain decided to occupy the Cape and thus protect the Eastern sea route. British occupation between 1795 and 1803 was uneventful, but when the Cape was re-occupied on a permanent basis in 1806, major changes were initiated. These included large numbers of British immigrants and a policy of social change which ultimately contributed to the Great Trek--a major population movement by White frontiersmen into the interior. It is their descendants who emerged as the Afrikaners.

The province of Natal in which Durban is located was originally inhabited by Africans of the Nguni linguistic group as discussed above. In 1823 the British occupied the natural harbour and called it Port Natal. As the settlement grew and British administration of the Cape became more permanent, one of the governors of the Cape Colony, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, was later honored by the renaming of this port settlement after him.

Across the Drakensburg range in the interior at this time came the first of the Boer frontiersmen as they sought to settle the grassy plains of this unclaimed region.

As a consequence of policy clashes between the local Voortrekker Volksraad and the British government in the Cape, the British sent a regiment in 1842 to occupy Port Natal. In 1844 the port and an area to be known as Natal were annexed to the Cape Colony and British administration was extended over the region from the Indian Ocean to the Drakensburg range. Natal at this time had a population of about 100,000 Africans and 3,000 Europeans. The latter were widely dispersed between the Tugela River in the north and the Umzinkulu River in the south, and inland to the Afrikaner settlements of Weenen, Utrecht, Vyrheid and surrounding farms.

Soon British settlers were residing in Durban and gentlemen farmers were growing sugar in ever increasing acres of fertile coastal land. After a few years sugar mills were constructed and in 1860, barely five years after the first local sale of Natal sugar, the young industry exported its first full cargo of 250 bags of sugar to England. Port Natal or Durban as it became, developed into a major port and city.

Sugarcane cultivation and sugar refining also opened up industry and major employment possibilities for the indigenous African population. Africans were unwilling to leave their own lands in order to work alien lands and crops for wages and failed to seize these job opportunities.

As a result East Indian laborers under a system of indenture were brought to Natal in order to cultivate the sugarcane fields and work in the refineries. The first Indian coolies arrived aboard the *Truro* on November 16, 1860, some to return at the end of their indentures and some to stay. Those who stayed permanently changed not only the face of Durban and Natal but also the whole of South Africa.

Most of the Indian emigrees belonged to the agricultural class and brought with them beliefs and practices which were new to the Natal region. As their contracts on the sugar plantations were terminated most left their indentures and found jobs in the dockyards and railways of Durban, in the coal mines of central Natal, on small holder fruit and vegetable gardens, and ultimately in domestic, business and municipal service. In addition to the coolie laborers, who brought Indian agricultural methods and cannabis use, a large number of Indians migrated to Natal paying their own way. They had commercial motives for immigrating and most of them went into business in Natal and Transvaal. These people were mostly Gujarati-speaking Muslims and Hindus as well as some Urdu-speaking Muslims. A few were Parsees from Bombay who were Zoroastrains by religion.

Being uneducated and relatively unsophisticated laborers, the Indian coolies had little in common with the English-speaking gentlemen farmers most of whom saw Britain as "home". Their contracts then were with their fellow laborers and subsistence farmers who were Black. We would suggest, though this cannot be documented, that shortly after landing in Natal cannabis supply networks were established. We do know that cannabis use continued and that the method of use changed from the traditional Indian liquids, sweetmeats, resin extract, etc. to the smoking of the dried leaves in the African manner.

By 1970 the Indian population of South Africa was about 614,000 of whom 83 percent lived in the province of Natal, mostly within a 95 mile radius of Durban. At this date only 3.7 percent of the economically active Indian population were still employed in agriculture.

The last major population group recognized by South Africa law is the Coloureds. This is a mestizo population resulting from various degrees of genetic crosses between European settlers, Khoikhoi herders, Malay slaves, and Negroid Africans. These various crossings produced four major ethnic concentrations: The Basters of Rehoboth, the Malays of Cape Town, the Griekwas, and the principal general group referred to as the Cape Coloured. It is with these latter people who reside in Durban and environs that this sample deals. In many ways the Coloureds are the most South African of all four categories of this sample. They had their origin in South Africa, they derive from no other region, and they are genetically related to all the other groups; while the Indians have remained relatively "pure" they have contributed genetically, culturally and religiously to the Coloured population in Natal.

I.3. The Study

The concern over cannabis and its possible effects, both immediate and long term, have prompted the National Institute on Mental Health in Washington to establish the National Institute on Drug Abuse. Rather than fund only studies in the U.S. where drug use was artificial and the drug frequently imported, the N.I.D.A. funded a number of international studies which looked at chronic cannabis use in its natural setting. What further differentiated these latter studies is the fact that they looked at drug use in the normal social context rather than focus on persons who had been institutionalized or incarcerated.

It was in this context that a project on *Cannabis use in Africa*, with actual field study in South Africa, was approached. The research focussed on all four of the major ethnic groups in South Africa and while concentrating on the use of cannabis we expanded the study to look at other drugs.

As a part of this overall study of drug use particularly cannabis smoking in the Natal region, it was decided to include high school pupils and university students. It was argued that due to the strictness and discipline which characterize South African high schools, one could expect a change in drug use patterns once students leave high school and go to college or the university. While this is true, it now seems that it would have been better to use high school pupils in lower grades. In many cases these are persons who experiment with drugs and, if they start using drugs frequently, fade out of school. Those who remain are increasingly the more serious students. The same generalization might apply at the university level where the most serious and committed remain while the others drop out after the first or second year.

We did not expect to find a very high percentage of drug use and certainly nothing approaching that which characterizes the American high school scene. In the Report of the Sub-Committee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, which deals with barbiturate abuse, "the director of one youth service program, which has provided services to 1,800 school age children from Dade and Broward counties, testified that 90 percent of our kids have been well into downers--barbituates, tranquilizers" (1972:53).

What we did expect, in keeping with our research findings among the adult population, was that the African students would smoke more cannabis and view it more naturally than the other three ethnic groups. We also expected the English-speaking urban Whites to be more familiar with drugs in general than their Afrikaans-speaking counterparts.

To study this aspect of drug use and attitudes regarding drugs, a questionnaire was compiled (see Addendum A). It was composed of five major sections.

1. Social background of the person
2. History of cannabis use by the person
3. Social aspects influencing use by the person, e.g., friends, parents, and values
4. Attitudes regarding cannabis, its effects, its legal status, etc.
5. Use of and attitudes regarding other drugs.

With permission in early 1974 from the various Departments of Education, this questionnaire was administered to the senior class in two African high schools (228 pupils), three Coloured high schools (89 pupils), three Indian high schools (337 pupils), and four White high schools. The latter category was composed of one Afrikaans medium high school (88 pupils), an English medium high school on the outskirts of the city (119 pupils) and two prestigious English medium schools in a wealthy and posh neighborhood in Durban, one catering to boys (146 pupils), and the other to girls (145 pupils). This gave us 1,152 high school pupils.

The principals of four tertiary institutions gave us permission to administer the same questionnaire to a total class of first-year English. It was decided that this would assure a normal distribution of students at that institution, by giving us a cross section of the total student body. The university sample consists of 202 African students at the University of Zululand, 47 Coloured students at the Bechet teachers' training college, 250 Indian students at the University of Durban-Westville, and 202 White students at the University of Natal. Our total sample of post high school students is 701 persons.

In the discussion that follows we will deal first with the high school pupils. They will be differentiated by ethnic group and the Whites will further be distinguished according to linguistic group membership and socio-economic class. The material is presented in a form which will allow comparison not only of the same topic between different ethnic groups but also between school and university students of the same ethnic group.

II. HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS

Matriculation, Senior Certificate, Form Five, or Standard Ten, as the final year in high school is variously referred to, marks the point at which schooling is terminated. After this a relatively small number of Africans, Coloureds and Indians go to the university whereas a much larger percentage of Whites do so. For many it is the end of financial security if their parents have been able to support them, and so the last year in high school is important. The student has become one of the older members in school, with better access to sports teams, debating societies and the like and these are the students who wear their school colors with pride, reflecting in many cases athletic achievements.

Rather than deal with the different ethnic groups, we will discuss the material in terms of various topics.

II.1. Age

The relatively favorable condition of the White student immediately becomes evident here. Among the Whites, 71.6 percent of the pupils were sixteen and seventeen years old, while only 52.8 percent of the Coloured, 37.2 percent of the Indian, and 5.7 percent of the African pupils fell in this age category.

On the other hand 35.0 percent of the Africans were twenty years of age or older while 5.6 percent of the Coloureds, 5.4 percent of the Indian, and .6 percent of the Whites were in this relatively advanced age category.

II.2 Sex

The Whites were the most equally distributed with 49.5 percent males and 50.5 percent females. Among both the Indian and the African groups there were more males; 56.0 percent and 57.8 percent respectively, while the Coloured schools had only 46.1 percent males. While these distribution figures may be purely coincidental, they could reflect the values of traditional

African and Indian families where boys were given preference in schooling and girls were frequently the first to be kept home either because of early marriages or to care for siblings.

II.3 Language

Under this heading we are faced with a large number of possibilities. Among the Africans, 93.9 percent were Zulu speaking while the rest spoke Sotho, Xhosa or some other African language. The majority of Indian pupils spoke English (46.1 percent) at home while the rest spoke, in order of frequency, Tamil (22.6 percent), Hindi (12.8 percent), Urdu (8.3 percent), Gujarati (3.6 percent), Telegu (3.6 percent) or some other language including Afrikaans. The Coloureds, like the Whites, spoke English or Afrikaans. The Coloureds were distributed as 89.9 percent English speaking and 10.1 percent Afrikaans speaking. The Whites polled were 78.9 percent English speaking and 18.1 percent Afrikaans speaking. A further 3.0 percent indicated another language as a home language. These were most likely the children of immigrants.

II.4 Future Plans

Africans in the Durban area have two choices for university education: one is to enroll at the University of Zululand, and the other, if they are senior pre-medical students, to attend the University of Natal Medical School. Coloureds may travel to the Cape to attend the University of the Western Cape, go to Bechet Teachers' Training College in Durban, or as medical students enroll in the University of Natal Medical School. The same avenue is open to medical students who are Indian, but the majority of these attend the University of Durban-Westville. For the White high school senior, there is the choice of ten universities and an equal number of teachers' training colleges. For all ethnic groups there is the possibility of technical college and of course the option of going to work. In spite of high aspirations and ideals, the economic situation frequently forces a choice upon the student.

Contrary to our statement regarding the relatively small number of African students who attend a university, a very large number aspire to tertiary education, which is an alternative to going to work. In the color-case based South African society the African workers have the worst deal, socially and economically. It is of interest, in the light of these facts, to find that African high schools have the highest percentage of students who hope to attend a university or teacher training college and the lowest percentage who want to go to work.

Table 1

Plans and Aspirations of High School Seniors in Durban

Choice	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Go to university	132	58.4	33	38.0	103	30.7	219	44.0
Go to teachers college	27	11.9	6	6.7	40	11.9	49	9.8
Go to work	21	9.3	15	17.3	58	17.3	59	11.8
Other and undecided	46	20.4	33	38.0	135	40.1	171	34.4
Total	226	100.0	87	100.0	336	100.0	498	100.0
N.R.	2		2		1			

II.5. Religion

As compared with the parental population included in the overall study, this material pertains to a generally younger group of persons. They do not necessarily practice any drug habit.

In this category we find that the Coloured pupils are the most regular churchgoers as 69.7 percent indicate weekly attendance, whereas the Whites (37.2 percent), the Africans (35.1 percent), and the Indians (27.5 percent) attend less regularly. In the category of "once or twice per month" the

Africans are the most frequent with 34.2 percent of the pupils indicating this regularity while the Whites (21.5 percent), Coloureds (18.0 percent), and Indians (6.9 percent) attend less frequently.

We should, of course, keep in mind that 75.8 percent of the Indian pupils are Hindu and a great deal of their religious ritual occurs in the home. Thus, when asked who attends worship services only on religious holy days, the Indians had the highest attendance rate (48.1 percent). They were trailed by the Africans (18.7 percent), the Whites (15.4 percent) and the Coloureds (6.7 percent).

Adding these figures together, 94.4 percent of the Coloured pupils indicated that they attended services weekly, monthly or at least on religious holy days. The Africans (88.0 percent) and the Indians (84.5 percent) were fairly similar, while the Whites were the least religious, in a formal sense at least.

Table 2 lists the major religious groups or denominations to which the high school pupils belong. We have not included by name a host of miscellaneous Christian sects or a number of other religious preferences expressed by the pupils. There was only one African pupil who stated that he was a traditionalist. The Whites show the widest distribution while the majority of the Indian pupils were either Hindus or Muslims.

Table 2

Religious Group or Denominational Affiliation of High School Seniors in Durban

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Anglican	27	14.7	18	20.5	4	1.2	103	23.5
Catholic	60	32.6	54	61.5	7	2.2	71	16.2
Dutch Reformed	7	3.8	2	2.2	0	0.0	65	14.8
Hindu	0	0.0	0	0.0	254	78.1	0	0.0
Muslim	0	0.0	6	6.8	47	14.4	0	0.0
Methodist	43	23.3	2	2.2	3	0.9	91	20.7
Presbyterian	9	4.9	0	0.0	3	0.9	95	21.6
Misc. Christian Sects	38	20.7	6	6.8	7	2.2	14	3.1
Total	184	100.0	88	100.0	325	99.9	439	99.9

II.6. Social Clubs

Since we have a question in a later section of the questionnaire pertaining to incorporating a known cannabis smoker in a social club, we asked who in fact belonged to such a club. Under clubs we included such organized activities as debating societies, athletic clubs, Student Christian Associations, etc. Nothing important emerged except that about half the students in each category belonged to associations.

II.7. Family Background

Three questions dealt with this important information. They were concerned with the composition of the family in which the persons were reared, and the age at which changes such as death or divorce altered the family composition. Questions also touched on the emotional relationship felt by pupils toward their parents or guardians.

Most pupils grew up in nuclear families where the father and mother were present. This is true for 87.3 percent of the White pupils, 86.4 percent of the Indian pupils, and 70.8 percent of the Coloured pupils. However, only 59.6 percent of the African pupils grew up in nuclear families composed of both a father and a mother. Most of the other pupils grew up in a home they shared with a widowed, divorced, or remarried mother. But the different ethnic groups show some significant variation. Only 9.4 percent of the White pupils come from such homes but 4.8 percent of them are cases where the mother is separated or divorced. In contrast 10.7 percent of the Indian pupils come from such homes but only 1.8 percent are from homes representing a separation or divorce. For the Coloureds the figures jump to 21.3 percent and 9.0 percent, respectively, and for the African pupils to 32.0 percent and 9.2 percent, respectively.

An analysis of the ages when such family changes occurred did not produce any overall pattern. Further cross-tabulations will be conducted and may produce other results. Pupils asked to characterize their relationship with their parents or guardian, ranging from 92.0 percent among the Africans to 96.3 percent among the Coloureds, indicated that their relationship was "very good" or "all right."

II.8. The Economic Picture

As can be expected, this category reflects the greatest contrast between the various ethnic groups.

Our first question asked for the occupation of the household head. The range of possibilities is too long to reproduce here but the greatest variation occurred among White and Indian parents, while the African parents had the least range of alternatives. The Whites also showed the largest percentage of managerial (10.8 percent) and professional (17.5 percent) parents while the Africans showed the lowest percentages in these categories and the highest percentage of domestic servant and laborer types, as well as 12.3 percent listed as teachers.

When one transposes job type to income, much the same picture emerges but in sharper detail. Only 1.0 percent of the White, 19.5 percent of the Coloured, and 19.3 percent of the Indian pupils indicated that their parents earned less than R90 per month or R1080 per year while 69.7 percent of the African pupils indicated this income level for the parent or breadwinner. At the other end of the income scale we find only one African pupil indicating that his parents earn more than R530 per month or R6360 per year, whereas 2.1 percent of the Indian, 5.6 percent of the Coloured and an impressive 40.6 percent of the White pupils' parents earn that amount.[1]

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[1] Though the values of the South African Rand and the U.S. dollar have fluctuated in relation to each other, there was an approximate equivalency in 1978 of one U.S. dollar to one South African Rand.

II.9. Migration

Rounding out the general background information on the school sample was a question asking "Where did you live during most of the past six years?"

Responses show that we are dealing with essentially an urban community. The Coloureds in Natal, as contrasted with those living in the Cape, are a relatively small and select group and basically urban. We found that 94.3 percent of the Coloured pupils resided in Durban or another city. In the Indian sample 91.3 percent were also urban residents. In the case of the White pupils we found that 79.7 percent lived in a city while most of the others migrated to Durban from a small town. For the Africans, 81.1 percent of the pupils grew up in the city, though most of the rest migrated from rural or farming areas.

This would suggest that a fairly large number of Africans were familiar with traditional values, life styles, and cannabis use. All groups, however, had spent enough time in the city to be exposed to other drugs including alcohol.

II.10. The Use of Cannabis

In agreement with Keniston (1968) and Greenwald and Leutgert (1971), we will use the prevailing definition of "drug user" as anyone who has ever tried any one of the consciousness altering substances. Stated differently, any person who has used an illegal drug has removed himself from the category of non-users and has joined that of users, with potentially vast social, interactional and behavioral implications (du Toit 1976a). The next question on our questionnaire was very critical. Because the pupils were working in complete privacy, without a teacher in attendance and my assurance of complete anonymity, the results here can be accepted as a true and honest reflection of the drug use pattern in the schools under consideration. As the first part of the questionnaire dealt with cannabis, the question was phrased: "During your life-time, have you used dagga?" and the answer allowed for different expressions of frequency. Table 3 reflects this information.

Table 3

The History of Cannabis Use by High
School Seniors in Durban

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Frequency	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Never	188	82.8	78	87.6	269	80.1	425	85.7
Once or twice	19	8.4	5	5.7	30	8.9	27	5.5
3-5 times	6	2.7	3	3.4	8	2.3	14	2.9
6-9 times	0	0.0	1	1.1	7	2.1	7	1.4
10-14 times	3	1.3	0	0.0	2	0.6	2	0.2
15-19 times	1	0.4	0	0.0	2	0.6	4	0.8
20+	10	4.4	2	2.2	18	5.4	17	3.5
Total	227	100.0	89	100.0	336	100.0	496	100.0
N.R.	1				1		2	

Since we are dealing with young people we are looking at those who are experimenting. Some of them will most likely not repeat the experiment. The descriptions we were given in the ethnographic study indicated that "first use" or the first trip frequently was not very pleasant. But a number of pupils in each ethnic category indicated fairly regular use and we asked them when they had last used "dagga." Among the Indian pupils 5.6 percent and among the Africans 4.4 percent indicated use within the week preceding their completion of the questionnaire, while 2.5 percent of the White pupils indicated this same frequency. No Coloured pupil claimed to have used "dagga" within a week. Among those who had used "dagga" within the last month, the Indian pupils once again were the most numerous with 3.9 percent of the total number of Indian pupils indicating this frequency while 1.2 percent of the Whites, 1.1 percent of the Coloured and .4 percent of the Africans were in this category.

Of greater significance was the next question which asked how frequently they smoked cannabis. The results to this question appear in Table 4 and agree to a major extent with the previous discussion. This shows that their actual frequency of use is very close to their perceived frequency.

Table 4

Frequency of Cannabis Use by High School Seniors in Durban

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Frequency	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Never	189	85.1	78	87.8	270	84.4	418	86.7
Daily or more	5	2.3	0	0.0	7	2.2	3	0.6
Once week or more	12	5.4	2	2.2	5	1.6	10	2.1
1-3 times month	2	0.9	0	0.0	7	2.2	10	2.1
Every 2-3 months	1	0.5	2	2.2	6	1.9	9	1.9
2-3 times a year	0	0.0	2	2.2	11	3.4	13	2.7
Once a year or less	13	5.9	5	5.6	14	4.4	19	3.9
Total	222	100.0	89	100.0	320	100.0	482	100.0
N.R.	6				17		16	

The totals of persons who have used cannabis thus are in the neighborhood of fourteen percent of the White, eighteen percent of the Indian, twelve percent of the Coloured, and seventeen percent of the African senior pupils. These figures for the Africans are lower than we would have expected, given the tradition of cannabis by the traditional Africans. All of these figures, however, are higher than those reported by Buikhuisen and Timmerman who investigated 11,659 school children in the Netherlands. They found that 11.15 percent of these children had tried drugs, but they do not indicate the age range of their subjects. A study in Chile concentrated on 734 high school pupils in Santiago with an age range of 13 to 18 years of age. Gomberoff and his Associates (1972) found that 6.96 percent of their subjects were cannabis smokers. Though the school had a similar number of boys and girls, more than twice the number of boys than girls smoked cannabis.

If we look in some detail at the White sample from Durban we find that cannabis use is more prevalent among the English speaking pupils. It also seems to be more prevalent among boys although these figures are based on only two schools. Table 5 shows that in the two schools from a wealthy, prestiges neighborhood, twice as many boys as girls smoked cannabis. It also shows that only two pupils in the Afrikaans medium school smoke, both of whom are regular smokers.

Table 5

Frequency of Cannabis Use by White High School Seniors in Durban

	English Medium High School on City Outskirts		Afrikaans Medium Urban High School		English Medium Wealthy Neighborhood			
					Boys School		Girls School	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Never	99	86.1	82	97.6	110	78.0	127	89.4
Daily or more	1	0.9	1	1.2	2	1.4	1	0.7
Once week	1	0.9	1	1.2	7	5.0	0	0.0
1-3 times/month	2	1.7	0	0.0	3	2.1	5	3.5
Every 2-3/month	4	3.5	0	0.0	4	2.8	1	0.7
2-3 times/year	3	2.6	0	0.0	8	5.7	2	1.4
1/year or less	5	4.3	0	0.0	7	5.0	6	4.2
Total	115	100.0	84	100.0	141	100.0	142	100.0
N.R.	4		4		5		3	

There are, of course, a number of persons who use cannabis once or even a number of times and then discontinue the habit. Some of these persons may simply have been experimenting, others may have had a bad experience and still others have a logical reason for discontinuing its use. The two reasons which appear most frequently are "Physical and Mental Risks" of smoking cannabis, and the "Legal Risk" of using an illegal drug.

In their Chilean study Gomberoff and his associates (1972:28) found that among the non-smokers, 17.33 percent were ready to smoke cannabis in the future. The pupils in our sample show approximately the same distribution with the highest frequency among the Whites. Table 6 reflects the attitudes of these South African high school pupils.

Table 6

Expected Use of Cannabis During the Next Year by High School Seniors in Durban

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Frequency	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
More than once or twice	6	2.7	2	2.2	12	3.6	8	1.6
Once, twice, no more	1	0.5	0	0.0	5	1.5	8	1.6
Maybe once or twice	8	3.5	5	5.6	18	5.5	19	3.6
Probably not	20	9.0	3	3.4	22	6.6	50	10.2
Definitely not	187	84.2	79	88.8	272	83.0	407	82.9
Total	222	100.0	89	100.0	329	100.0	492	100.0
N.R.	6				8		6	

Questioned about their first use of cannabis, the pupils indicated that this had mostly occurred during high school. While twice as many Indian and Coloured pupils had started in Standard Nine or Ten, i.e., within the past two years before questioned, this was not as clear in the case of White and African pupils. Table 7 shows that a small number of Africans, Indians and Whites were introduced to and started smoking cannabis before they went to high school. During the first three years in high school, however, more than twice as many Africans started smoking as did their age mates who started some years later. The 10.5 percent who started in junior high is the highest single total and points to a younger starting age of cannabis smokers among Africans. A slightly higher percentage of Whites started in the higher grades than in junior high school. Looking in detail at the White schools we find that the school which is located on the outskirts of the city, and thus has more rural contact and more open spaces in the neighborhood, is the only one showing more pupils starting while in junior high than in senior high. This is the only fact they have in common with the African sample of high school pupils.

Table 7

History of First Cannabis Use
by High School Seniors

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Time Period	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Never used	188	82.5	78	87.6	267	79.2	425	85.7
Prior to high school	5	2.2	0	0.0	4	1.2	3	0.6
During STD 6-8	24	10.5	3	3.4	21	6.2	31	6.3
During STD 9-10	11	4.8	8	9.0	42	12.5	37	7.5
After Standard 10	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.9	0	0.0
Total	228	100.0	89	100.0	337	100.0	496	100.0
N.R.							2	

II.11. The Social Background

It is, of course, possible that the age of first use is determined largely by the social relationship of the person who first introduces the smoker to the cannabis habit. Table 8 shows that among the pupils in all four categories, neighborhood friends and school friends were the primary agents of introduction. Kinsmen, appearing under "other," figure very slightly except among the Coloured. In the African sample families are relatively large but traditions of use usually exclude an older person participating with one younger than himself.

This would imply that schoolmates, or at least persons in the same age category, were the most frequent smoking companions. From our total sample of the four ethnic groups only two persons indicated that they smoked exclusively at school while eight persons stated that they sometimes smoked at school. These ten persons form a very small number in our total sample of 193 smokers.

Table 8

Who Introduced the Pupil to Cannabis Use?

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Who Introduced?	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Never used	186	81.6	78	87.6	267	79.5	422	85.3
Neighborhood friends	19	8.3	5	5.6	39	11.6	36	7.6
Friends in other city	5	2.2	1	1.1	5	1.5	4	0.8
Friend in rural area	3	1.3	0	0.0	3	0.9	6	1.2
Friend at school	12	5.3	2	2.2	16	4.7	19	3.9
Other	3	1.3	3	3.4	6	1.8	6	1.2
Total	228	100.0	89	100.0	336	100.0	493	100.0
N.R.					1		5	

If, as we have suggested, age mates use cannabis, and if these are frequently neighborhood and school friends, it is likely that pupils would count fellow cannabis smokers among their best friends at school. To arrive at this picture we asked pupils: "Of the three people you consider your best friend *at school*, how many have used dagga?" The emphasis then is on school mates and best friends in that context. The question is also specific and does not ask how many they think might have tried cannabis. But since we earlier found that neighborhood friends were very important, another question repeated the request above but substituted "*at home*" for "*at school*." In this way we can contrast school friends and neighborhood friends with the clear realization that these two categories may overlap considerably. Tables 9 and 10 present the results of these friendship questions.

It is obvious that a larger number of home friends than school friends smoke cannabis, and this is true for all the ethnic groups except the Indian. While Indians and Whites show about the same percentage of school using friends, the Whites have the highest percentage of home friends who smoke cannabis.

Table 9

Number of Best Friends *At School* Who Use Cannabis

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Number Who Use:	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
None	164	72.2	71	79.8	240	71.2	352	71.0
One	11	4.8	9	10.1	36	10.7	65	13.1
Two	16	7.0	4	4.5	23	6.8	26	5.2
Three	7	3.1	0	0.0	17	5.0	23	4.6
Don't know	29	12.8	5	5.6	21	6.2	30	6.0
Total	227	100.0	89	100.0	337	100.0	496	100.0
N.R.	1						2	

Table 10

Number of Best Friends *At Home* Who Use Cannabis

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Number Who Use:	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
None	144	63.5	63	70.8	251	75.4	334	67.3
One	22	9.6	13	14.6	32	9.6	71	14.3
Two	11	4.8	5	5.6	15	4.5	35	7.1
Three	13	5.7	3	3.4	18	5.4	29	5.8
Don't know	37	16.3	5	5.6	17	5.1	27	5.4
Total	227	100.0	89	100.0	333	100.0	496	100.0
N.R.	1				4		2	

Turning from friends to parents we were interested in knowing about the alcohol use, cannabis use, and the attitude of the parents of pupils in our sample. Could we discern general tendencies which might influence either the acceptability or use of drugs? We realized that alcohol is a legal drug while cannabis is an illegal drug. How was this reflected in the actions and attitudes of parents? How were religious and traditional attitudes reflected?

The first question asked pupils to indicate the normal pattern of alcohol use by their mother and father. Among the

Indian pupils 93.1 percent of those who responded indicated that their mother never used alcohol, while 92.9 percent of the Africans indicated this use pattern. At the other end of the scale was the White sample where only 21.5 percent stated that the mother never used alcohol. The Coloureds, with 56.3 percent, were in the middle of these two extremes. The same pattern showed up in response to the "regular use" variable where 13.6 percent of the Whites and only 1.5 percent and 0.5 percent of the Indians and Africans, respectively, indicated that their mothers used alcohol on a regular basis.

If we look closely at the White sample we find alcohol use is consistently higher among the English speaking Whites than their Afrikaans speaking counterparts. Thus, the three English medium schools show that in 15.5 percent, 21.4 percent and 16.6 percent of the cases, the mother never uses alcohol while the figure for the Afrikaans medium school is 38.6 percent. While 18.1 percent, 12.1 percent and 15.2 percent of the English medium pupils indicate regular use by their mother, only 7.2 percent of the Afrikaans pupils selected this answer to reflect their mother's use of alcohol. The urban marginal English medium and Afrikaans medium pupils stated that their mothers in 4.3 percent and 3.6 percent, respectively, used "considerable alcohol in social drinking." These figures rose to 10.7 percent and 6.9 percent, respectively, for the two schools in a wealthy high prestige neighborhood.

As regards to alcohol use by the father, we find the same pattern as with the mothers. Table 11 presents this information for the four ethnic groups. Once again we find that Whites and Coloureds are the most common users of alcohol while African and Indian match each other in most respects.

Once again a close look at the White sample (see Table 12) indicates that the Afrikaans medium pupils feel that their fathers include more teetotalers, fewer considerable social drinkers, and fewer persons who regularly use alcohol.

Table 11

Pattern of Alcohol Use by Fathers Of High School Seniors

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Frequency	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Not at all	84	43.4	21	25.9	127	40.7	54	11.3
Occasions social	66	34.1	19	23.5	105	33.7	246	51.5
Considerable social	11	5.6	15	18.5	21	6.7	54	11.3
Regular	14	7.3	18	22.2	40	12.8	113	23.6
Problem	9	3.9	5	6.2	11	3.5	13	2.2
NA	11	5.6	3	3.7	8	2.6	1	0.2
Total	195	100.0	81	100.0	312	100.0	481	100.0
N.R.	33		8		25		17	

Table 12

Frequency of Alcohol Use by Fathers of White High School Seniors

	English Medium High School on City Outskirts		Afrikaans Medium Urban High School		English Medium Wealthy Neighborhood Boys School		English Medium Wealthy Neighborhood Girls School	
Frequency	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Not at all	7	5.9	19	21.8	17	12.2	11	8.1
Occasional social	68	57.6	48	55.2	61	43.9	69	50.8
Considerable social	8	6.8	3	3.4	25	18.0	18	13.2
Regular use	32	27.1	13	14.9	33	23.7	35	25.7
Problem drinking	3	2.5	4	4.6	3	2.2	3	2.2
Total	118	100.0	87	100.0	139	100.0	136	100.0
N.R.	1		1		7		9	

Obviously the use of alcohol by parents will be reflected in their attitudes concerning alcohol use by their children. We then find that 68.3 percent of the Indians, 44.9 percent of the Coloureds, and 42.2 percent of the Africans indicate that their parents are "intensely disapproving" of their use of alcohol. Only 8.9 percent of the Whites indicated this. While 9.5 percent of the Indian pupils, 11.4 percent of the African pupils, and 29.2 percent of the Coloured pupils felt that their parents are "tolerant of alcohol use in social situations only," 54.0 percent of the Whites indicated this to reflect the attitude of their parents.

The next question moved from the use of the legal drug to the use of the illegal drug: from alcohol to cannabis. Once again we were interested in patterns of use as well as attitudes toward use.

We thus asked the pupils to indicate whether their mothers had ever used cannabis. The White and Indian pupils in 96.2 percent and 95.0 percent respectively, indicated the negative while the Coloured and African responded with 90.9 percent and 88.3 percent negative answers. Only one White, one African, and two Indian pupils stated that their mothers had smoked cannabis. In the discussion of their fathers the picture changes. Most students were able to give a definite negative reply. Most African (65.1 percent), Coloured (72.3 percent), Indian (81.1 percent) and White (91.0 percent) pupils were sure their fathers had never used cannabis, but 30.0 percent (African), 18.1 percent (Coloured), 14.2 percent (Indian), and 7.2 percent (White) of these senior students did not really know and could not give a definite negative response. In this category the Whites have been the smallest group of likely cannabis users and only 1.6 percent indicated that their fathers had definitely used cannabis. The Coloureds, with 84 percent, showed the highest percentage of users, while the African and Indian percentage of users appeared to be quite low at 1.8 percent and 2.8 percent respectively. One might have expected a higher percentage of African fathers who had tried cannabis at least once, and this question may have been misinterpreted by our African high school seniors.

If we look at the four White schools in our sample it is interesting to note that the Afrikaans medium school shows one hundred percent of the pupils being sure their mothers had never used cannabis, while the other language group suggested either previous use by the mother or not being sure. As regards the father, it is again the Afrikaans medium school which indicates no cannabis use by any father and while 1.1 percent of the pupils, i.e., one senior student wasn't sure whether his father might have tried cannabis, the figures for this question jumped to 11 (7.8 percent) and 12 (8.6 percent), respectively, for the two high income prestige neighborhood schools, and 11 (9.3 percent) for the English medium school on the city outskirts. In the same sequence pupils at these schools indicated in 4 (2.8 percent), 2 (1.4 percent), and 2 (1.7 percent) cases that their fathers had used or were using cannabis.

The question which naturally flows from this is what the attitude of parents would be to cannabis use by the high school seniors. Our next question then asked specifically: "How would your parents react to your use of dagga?" The responses to this question appear in Table 13. It seems that the strongest disapproval would come from the Coloured and Indian parents whereas the White and especially African parents would not show such strong disapproval. The White high school seniors in the highest number of the four ethnic groups (namely 3.7 percent), suggested that their parents would be tolerant of the pupils' experimentation with cannabis. As one would expect, due to the long tradition and institutionalization of cannabis in African culture, the largest number of African pupils thought that their parents would be tolerant of their regular use of cannabis (namely 2.8 percent).

Table 13

Reaction of Parents to Cannabis Use by High School Seniors

Reaction	African Number	African Per Cent	Coloured Number	Coloured Per Cent	Indian Number	Indian Per Cent	White Number	White Per Cent
Tolerant regular use	6	2.8	0	0.0	3	0.9	2	0.4
Tolerant trial only	5	2.3	0	0.0	3	0.9	18	3.7
Indifferent	33	15.5	2	2.2	8	2.4	2	0.4
Disapproving	31	14.6	5	5.6	23	6.9	40	8.2
Intense disapproval	138	64.8	82	92.1	204	88.8	422	86.6
Mixed different reactions	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.2
Don't know	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.2
NA	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.2
Total	213	100.0	89	100.0	331	100.0	487	100.0
N.R.	15				6		11	

Our questionnaire now turned to the importance of various categories of persons. The pupil was asked to indicate these persons or groups of persons whose evaluation of him or her as *a person* was most important and influential. The results were extremely interesting, particularly as regards African versus White pupils. In response to this question, 60.5 percent of the African pupils indicated their parents while only 48.5 percent of the White pupils made this selection. While only 4.5 percent of the Africans selected "friend" (including boy friend and girl friend) as a second important category, the White pupils indicated that their friends' evaluations of them were of primary importance in 29.4 percent of the cases. The Coloured and Indian pupils are midway between these extremes. The African and Indian sample share a recognition of relatives. The 31.3 percent of the African and 22.6 percent of the Indian sample indicated that brothers', sisters', grandparents', or other relatives' evaluation of them were important, whereas only 14.4 percent of the White pupils made this selection.

The Coloureds again were midway between White and Indian.

When asked about the various categories of persons whose evaluation of them as *a student* was important, we still find that the African pupils select their parents, while the Whites select their teachers. This same pattern emerges in the White schools where the Afrikaans medium school selected the parents in 33.8 percent of the cases versus the teacher in 17.6 percent. The clearest contrast within this category is with the White girls' school in our sample where only 23.2 percent selected the parents but 41.3 percent selected the teacher. To return to the four ethnic groups in our sample, we find that among the Whites, friends show up as the next important category of persons whose evaluation is regarded highly, whereas the Africans select relatives.

There is a fairly clear leaning among the Africans, and to a lesser extent among the Indians, toward the members of the family and kin-group. Among Whites, and to a lesser extent among the Coloureds, the emphasis is on the peer group and those persons, teacher or principal, who are in positions of decision and authority. "Thus, these responses suggest that Whites are not nearly as family-oriented as the other groups studied."

II.12. Attitudes of High School Seniors

The major part of this questionnaire dealt with the attitudes of high school seniors to cannabis, its use, its effects, its legal position, and the position of cannabis users. It must be repeated here that we were not primarily interested in contrasting the attitudes of users versus non-users since the numbers in the former category are too few, but to get a clear idea of how high school seniors felt and what they thought.

The questionnaire thus turned at this stage to the reasons why pupils had or had not used cannabis. The question permitted a fairly wide range of choices and the pupils were verbally instructed that they could make more than one selection.

The first question asked: "If you have never tried dagga, what are your reasons for not trying it?" Table 14 records the answers given by pupils.

The most common reason given is a lack of interest in the drug and this reason is fairly evenly distributed among the four ethnic samples. As the second most common reason, the African pupils claim lack of access to the drug and the physical and mental risks to which cannabis users expose themselves. This last mentioned reason is also mentioned by White pupils along with parental influence. This type of influence, however, is of greater importance among the Indian and Coloured seniors, the latter also mentioning moral and religious reasons for avoiding the use of cannabis.

Table 14

Primary Reason Given by High School Seniors for Not Trying Cannabis

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Reason	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Have used	13	6.3	8	9.3	43	13.9	57	11.9
Not interested	128	62.1	63	73.2	177	57.3	275	57.7
No access	16	7.8	1	1.2	10	3.2	14	2.9
Parental influence	7	3.4	6	7.0	33	10.7	39	8.2
Friends' influence	5	2.4	1	1.2	7	2.3	6	1.3
Legal risks	12	5.8	0	0.0	7	2.3	6	1.3
Moral-religious	5	2.4	5	5.8	12	3.9	32	6.7
Physical-Mental risks	19	9.2	1	1.2	17	5.5	40	8.4
Other	1	0.5	1	1.2	3	1.0	8	1.7
Total	206	99.9	86	100.1	309	100.1	477	100.1
N.R.	22		3		28		21	

Not all the pupils elected to give more than one reason but among those who did the physical and mental risk emerged as a critical factor. It is mentioned by 38.1 percent of the

Africans, 63.6 percent of the Coloureds, 64.0 percent of the Indians, and 33.0 percent of the Whites. In those cases where pupils gave three reasons for not trying cannabis this fear of detrimental physical and mental effects is mentioned as the overwhelming reason.

As a counter question, aimed at those pupils who have tried cannabis, we asked what reason had prompted their decision to first try the drug. This does not hinge on whether they are currently cannabis smokers. Table 15 records the primary reasons indicated for trying "dagga."

Table 15

Primary Reason Given by High School Seniors for Trying Cannabis

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Reason	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Never used	143	76.1	69	86.1	224	77.5	332	72.8
Curiosity	22	11.7	6	7.5	35	12.1	32	7.9
Kicks--to feel good	7	3.7	3	3.8	15	5.2	19	4.2
Escape problems	5	2.7	0	0.0	6	2.1	3	0.7
Social pressures	1	0.5	1	1.3	4	1.4	5	1.1
Self-understanding	4	2.1	1	1.3	2	0.7	1	0.2
Resistance	1	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	57	12.5
Other	3	1.6	0	0.0	1	0.3	3	0.7
Relaxation	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.7	0	0.0
Boredom	1	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Intensify perception	1	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	188	99.9	80	100.0	289	100.0	452	100.1
N.R.	40		9		48		42	

As can be seen, the most common reason given by Africans, Coloureds and Indians is that of curiosity. This finding agrees with that of Gomberoff and his colleagues (1972:31) who found that for adolescents in Chile "curiosity is one of the most important motivations to smoke marihuana." This was not the primary reason among the White high school seniors.

One alternative in the list presented to the pupils in the questionnaire was "Expression of resistance to the Establishment." No Coloured or Indian, and only one African gave this as the reason for smoking cannabis. Among the Whites, 12.5 percent explained their drug use as a reactionary decision against the Establishment, including authority figures and conditions.

Among pupils at the four White schools the "resistance" reason is the highest among girls at the high prestige girls' school. They give this reason almost four times as frequently as any other. Among the boys at the high prestige boys' school "curiosity" slightly outranks "resistance" as is the case among pupils in the English medium school on the city limits. It is strange that among those pupils at the Afrikaans medium school who responded, one person mentioned "curiosity," one explained that he had done it for "kicks--to feel good," and the other ten persons who responded all used the "resistance" explanation. In the previous sentence we stated that it was strange because the picture which emerged from the questionnaires is that the Afrikaans pupil is much more accepting of the status quo, of authority figures, of the role of parents and similar issues.

We can state, in general, that among White high school seniors, cannabis has become a symbol of resistance. As seniors two decades earlier used alcohol to express independence and to affirm their new status, or seniors two decades before them used cigarettes, the current high schooler uses cannabis. They might be curious about it, but it represents reaction to authority.

As part of the attitude survey, high school pupils were asked to characterize cannabis users. They were presented with a list which offered them a range of choices. Table 16 presents the results of this question.

Within each color category we find that the majority selected the variable which states "not much different from people who do not use it." The sole exception here is the Coloureds where a small majority which selected the variable which reads "in need of psychiatric help." This was also the second most frequent choice among the Indian pupils. The African pupils in equal numbers decided that cannabis users were "more sensitive and intelligent than the average" and that they were "mostly from a lower-class background."

Table 16

Characteristics of the Average Cannabis User as Viewed by High School Seniors

Characteristic	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Same as non-users	69	32.1	23	25.8	103	31.3	214	44.5
Sensitive-intelligent	35	16.3	2	2.2	28	8.5	12	2.5
Poor students	29	13.5	14	15.7	47	14.3	74	15.4
Lower class	35	16.3	8	9.0	44	13.4	33	6.9
Morally degenerate	16	7.4	13	14.6	35	10.6	53	11.0
Psych. cases	14	6.5	24	27.0	52	15.8	48	10.0
Other	13	6.0	4	4.5	17	5.2	45	9.4
Don't know	4	1.9	1	1.1	3	0.9	2	0.2
Total	215	100.0	89	100.0	329	100.0	481	100.0
N.R.	13				8		17	

Among the various White high schools the pupils of the three English medium schools decided by 51.3 percent, 46.5 percent, and 48.3 percent, respectively, that cannabis users were "not much different from people who did not use cannabis." Among the Afrikaans medium pupils, 23.4 percent selected that variable while exactly the same number felt that cannabis users were in need of psychiatric help.

Turning from the moral-intellectual characteristics, pupils were asked whether cannabis users were physically active or passive types. African, Coloured, and Indian high school seniors all agreed with very slight variations that there was not much difference but the White pupils differed quite markedly.

While 49.3 percent said that cannabis users were not much different from other people, 41.8 percent saw the cannabis smoker as a "physically inactive, passive type," and only nine percent thought they were "physically active, sporting types." The other color categories among our high school seniors had chosen each of these three alternatives with about equal frequency. When we look at the four White schools, the Afrikaans medium high school once again shows the clearest contrast. Table 17 presents this material.

Table 17

Conception of Cannabis Smokers by White High School Seniors

	English Medium High School on City Outskirts		Afrikaans Medium Urban High School		English Medium Wealthy Neighborhood Boys School		English Medium Wealthy Neighborhood Girls School	
Characteristic	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Physically active	13	12.5	5	6.7	21	14.8	3	2.1
Physically inactive	30	28.2	51	68.0	46	32.4	68	46.9
No difference	62	59.4	19	25.3	75	52.8	74	51.0
Total	105	100.0	75	100.0	142	100.0	145	100.0
N.R.	14		13		4		0	

Most cannabis users at school would be very secretive about the habit but in the close social setting of a high school, news has a way of spreading. We were thus interested in the social implications of cannabis use. Would drug use cause social ostracism? To what extent would individuals accept or reject other individuals if they knew them to be drug takers? Or more practically, what would a person do if he or she discovered that a good friend of the same or opposite sex smoked cannabis? To elicit this information, a number of questions dealt with the social and personal implications of being a known cannibis smoker.

The first question sketched a situation in which a close personal friend began to use cannabis. The pupil was then asked to select a response from a number of alternatives. A large majority of the African (74.7 percent), Coloured (78.4 percent), Indian (79.1 percent), and White (71.6 percent) high school seniors stated that they would attempt to persuade their friend to stop. It is interesting that the Whites are lowest in this regard, thus suggesting either greater individual freedom to act as one pleases or greater acceptance of drugs. The next most common response to this question was to disregard his use of cannabis as it would not affect the friendship. Once again we find the Whites with the highest percentage, 20.4 percent, while Coloureds (18.2 percent), Indians (14.3 percent) and Africans (10.4 percent) found it less acceptable. At the other extreme are those high school pupils who state that they would discontinue their friendship with a person found to be a cannabis smoker. Only one Coloured person indicated this choice, while 3.7 percent of the White and 4.2 percent of the Indian pupils would act in this fashion. African urban high school seniors are somewhat removed from the traditional culture and values and are committed to educational ideals. It will be recalled that they, in the largest percentage of pupils, indicated a desire for tertiary education. Here we find 13.1 percent of them indicating that they would discontinue their friendship with a known cannabis smoker.

This same picture emerges from the Afrikaans medium school's seniors. Once again, as can be seen in Table 18, the Afrikaans pupils resemble the African pupils in their choice. A very large majority would try to persuade their friend to stop smoking cannabis, very few would disregard the drug habit of their friend, and the largest number in the four White schools would discontinue their friendship if they discovered that a friend smoked cannabis.

Table 18

Reaction to Cannabis Smoking by Close Friend

	English Medium High School on City Outskirts		Afrikaans Medium Urban High School		English Medium Wealthy Neighborhood Boys School		English Medium Wealthy Neighborhood Girls School	
Reaction	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Disassociate	5	4.3	6	7.3	6	4.2	1	0.7
Decrease contact	6	5.2	1	1.2	7	4.9	7	4.8
Persuade to stop	76	66.1	72	87.8	93	64.6	107	73.8
Disregard use	28	24.3	3	3.7	38	26.4	30	20.7
Total	115	100.0	82	100.0	144	100.0	145	100.0

The previous question spoke merely about friendship. We now asked the high school seniors whether they would date a person who they knew had tried cannabis. A small number of Africans (19.4 percent) indicated that they would, while almost half the Whites (49.6 percent) gave a similar response. The Coloureds (36.4 percent) and Indians (26.0 percent) were less positive. A plurality of Africans (48.2 percent) stated that they would not date such a person while the Whites (21.1 percent) and Coloureds (22.7 percent) were not so negative; the Indians (39.7 percent) most nearly agreed with the Africans. The rest of the persons in each color category were not sure what they would do if confronted with such a situation.

In looking at the way the different White schools responded to this question, the Afrikaans medium school is once again the exception. A small minority of the English medium school on the city limits (6.3 percent) and the English medium boys' (19.3 percent) and girls' (13.8 percent) schools indicated that they would not date such a person, while between 50 percent and 60 percent of pupils of these three schools said yes, they would date such a person. The seniors at the Afrikaans medium school, however, felt very strongly in this regard as 55.8 percent said that they would not date a person who had tried cannabis and only 18.6 percent said they would. The rest of the persons in these four school were undecided.

While a person who only tries cannabis might be just as guilty before the law as a regular user, these high school seniors did not feel that way. We asked them whether they would date a person whom they knew to be a regular cannabis smoker. Now their attitudes changed quite sharply. The previous question pertained to one who had only tried the drug but now the question pertained to a regular drug user. The Coloureds (76.4 percent) and Indians (74.9 percent) were the most adamant about avoiding such a person and the White (62.3 percent) and African (54.9 percent) seniors were also negative in their reaction. In terms of not being affected by such factors as drug use, some Coloureds (11.2 percent) and Indian (11.1 percent) pupils stated that they would date such a person while a proportionately larger number of White (17.9 percent) and African (17.9 percent) high school seniors indicated a willingness to date such a person. Even with reference to the undecided category, the Coloureds (12.4 percent) and Indians (14.1 percent) contrast with the White (19.8 percent) and African (27.2 percent) high school pupils.

If we look at the White schools we again find the Afrikaans medium school very clearly set aside. The senior pupils at the three English medium schools indicated in 52.9 percent, 66.2 percent, and 57.2 percent of the cases, respectively, that they would not date a regular cannabis smoker. The Afrikaans medium school made this choice in 77.0 percent of the cases. In the "not sure" category we find 29.4 percent of the marginal English medium school, 16.6 percent of the boys' and 21.4 percent of the girls' school pupils while only 9.2 percent of the Afrikaans medium school's pupils were not sure what they would do.

The last question in our series which tried to gauge the social implications of cannabis smoking asked whether the pupil would support the application of another pupil, a person known to have tried cannabis, to join a social club. The White and Coloured pupils who selected the "yes-no" ratio in 49.7 percent - 29.7 percent and 53.4 percent - 20.5 percent of the cases, respectively, were clearly the least concerned about cannabis use. The Indians were almost bimodal as 38.8 percent versus 36.1 percent indicated that they would support such a person, but the African pupils clearly are not supportive of cannabis smokers. Only 27.9 percent of them said they would support such an application while 50.9 percent would not.

Once again, as can be seen in Table 19, the Afrikaans medium school is the most conservative and almost exactly matches the reserve with which the African pupils view the cannabis smoker.

Table 19

Would You Support the Application for Club Membership of a Person You Knew Had Used "Dagga"?

	English Medium High School on City Outskirts		Afrikaans Medium Urban High School		English Medium Wealthy Neighborhood Boys School		English Medium Wealthy Neighborhood Girls School	
Response	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Yes	64	53.8	22	25.3	62	43.1	98	67.6
No	27	22.7	45	51.7	48	33.3	27	18.6
Not sure	28	23.5	20	23.0	34	23.6	20	13.8
Total	119	100.0	87	100.0	114	100.0	145	100.0

To expand the attitudinal scope of the questionnaire we included a number of questions regarding risk and legality. In the first of these a number of possible risks were listed and the pupils were asked to "indicate which of the following you feel is a risk taken by anyone who uses dagga." It was stated that more than one choice could be made. All four ethnic groups recognized damage to health as the most immediate risk, even though the Coloured and Indian high school seniors were more concerned about this danger than were their African and White counterparts. Table 20 shows what risks these pupils saw as emanating from cannabis smoking.

Table 20

Risks Taken by Persons Smoking Cannabis as Seen by High School Seniors

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Risk	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Damage to health	156	69.0	67	75.3	240	71.9	333	67.4
Physical dependence	8	3.5	1	4.5	14	4.2	28	5.7
Psychological dependence	15	6.6	3	3.4	24	7.2	45	9.1
Legal sanctions	20	8.8	3	3.4	7	2.1	27	5.5
Addiction	10	4.4	9	10.1	41	12.3	31	6.3
Escalation	9	4.0	3	3.4	4	1.2	26	5.3
Other	6	2.7	0	0.0	4	1.2	4	0.8
Don't know	2	0.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	226	100.0	86	100.0	334	100.0	494	100.0
N.R.	2				3		4	

When we listed the second choices each one of the ethnic groups emerged with two or three alternatives to which they gave almost equal value. Physical dependence was mentioned by 39.1 percent of the Coloureds, 38.3 percent of the Indians, 34.6 percent of the Whites, and 34.0 percent of the Africans. Psychological dependence was seen as a danger by 31.9 percent of the Coloureds, 20.8 percent of the Africans, and 20.6 percent of the Indians, but only 17.2 percent of the Whites. Escalation to hard drugs was selected by only 12.4 percent of the Whites and very few in the other ethnic groups. On the other hand, if there is an ethnic group in South Africa which has more than its share of police and legal hassle, it must be the Africans. The senior high school pupils in 32.1 percent of the cases saw the complication of legal sanctions as their main concern--a factor mentioned by only 5.8 percent of the Coloureds, 7.7 percent of the Indians, and 12.9 percent of the Whites. It is interesting that this latter figure is derived from the English medium White *schools rather than any significant selection by the Afrikaans* medium students. It would seem that in their high prestige position they have the most to lose from police action or legal sanction. Consequently, the two groups who are most concerned about the legality of the action are those who are continuously exposed to the agents of the law, and those who do have the most to lose from any action by the agents of the law.

The second question of this section asked the students to indicate what degree of legal control they felt was appropriate for persons using cannabis. The choices ranged from the status quo to no legal restrictions, and we allowed for the possibility that either Africans only or all persons who did not belong to the White color caste be permitted to use cannabis. Strangely enough the latter two possibilities did not get much support and the White pupils supported them more than either the Coloured or Indian pupils. Table 21 shows the responses to these questions.

Table 21

Appropriate Legal Control for Cannabis Use
as Seen by High School Seniors

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Legal Control	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
No legal restrictions	51	23.1	11	12.4	33	10.0	34	7.0
Legal if over age 21	30	13.6	2	2.2	36	10.9	37	7.6
Legal for experimental and research	65	29.4	36	40.4	105	31.8	139	28.5
Reduced penalties	31	14.0	3	3.4	34	10.3	83	17.0
Same penalties	28	12.7	37	41.6	120	35.9	180	37.0
OK for non-whites	8	3.6	0	0.0	3	0.9	5	1.0
OK for Africans	8	3.6	0	0.0	1	0.3	9	1.8
Total	221	100.0	89	100.0	332	100.1	487	99.9
N.R.	7				5		11	

The two choices which attract the most attention are the third one which reads: *"Dagga use should be legal in experimental and research situations"* and the fifth one which reads "Dagga use should not be legal; penalties should stay as they are." A number of African pupils suggested that there should be no legal restrictions on the use of cannabis, and a number of Whites thought that the penalties for cannabis use should be reduced in contrast to hard drugs.

When one looks at the second choice of students we find that 47.1 percent of the Africans, 76.9 percent of the Coloureds, 51.4 percent of the Indians, and 50.6 percent of the Whites indicated that cannabis use should not be legal and that the penalties should stay as they are. While we lack any very clear leaning by any one of the major ethnic groups, there is an undercurrent of conservatism as regards the use of cannabis.

This subject naturally leads into that of the appropriate legal action against a person found guilty for using cannabis. Again the high school pupils were offered various choices and permitted a primary and secondary choice. Very few made a second selection. In addition to the normal alternatives, one novel choice was included: that such a person should be made to report regularly to a rehabilitation center. This proved to be the overwhelming choice of Coloured, White, and Indian pupils. The African pupils selected the alternative with which they were most familiar and which possibly represented for them the ultimate punishment. Table 22 reports on the selection these few groups of high school seniors made.

As the second most frequent selection, the African and Indian pupils suggested that persons be warned and released. The Coloureds suggested a jail term while the Whites indicated a fine, probably reflecting their values.

Table 22

Appropriate Punishment for Person Found Guilty of Cannabis Use

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Punishment	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Sent to jail	99	44.0	11	12.6	55	16.4	56	11.5
Physical punishment	24	10.6	3	3.4	21	6.3	31	6.3
Fined	21	9.3	10	11.5	3	13.1	75	15.3
Rehabilitated	11	4.9	51	58.7	131	39.1	213	43.6
Warned and released	53	23.5	9	10.3	68	20.3	60	12.3
Other	17	7.6	3	3.4	16	4.8	54	11.0
Total	225	100.0	87	100.0	294	100.0	489	100.0
N.R.	3		2		2		9	

II.13. Other Drugs

The last section of the questionnaire, administered to high school seniors in twelve schools in Durban, dealt with the use of other drugs. We asked them about any use of other drugs and about their attitude to using such drugs, i.e., their intention of using them in the future.

In the first part a whole range of drugs were mentioned and the pupils were asked to indicate the number of times they had used each. These drugs ranged from common tobacco, wine and beer, to heroin and opium. We will present the responses to each drug type for both the major ethnic groups as well as the White schools where these show important differences.

Tobacco. While cigarette packages in the United States carry the warning that smoking may be "hazardous to your health," this warning is omitted in South Africa, a country in which smoking is very common where, among those in high school the use of a cigarette represents "cool" and sophistication.

We find that 36.7 percent of the African high school seniors, 55.8 percent of the Coloureds, 45.7 percent of the

Indians, and 70.1 percent of the Whites had smoked tobacco or were smoking at the time of the study. *In fact, 36.7 percent of* the Indians and 19.0 percent of the Africans were smoking on a fairly regular basis.

The figure for Whites is very high and derives mainly from the English medium schools where between 72 percent and 79 percent of the pupils had smoked while only 39 percent of those at the Afrikaans medium high school had tried tobacco smoking.

Alcohol. Based on the alcohol content we differentiated between beer and wine on the one hand and spirits on the other.

Once again these seniors were asked how many times they had used wine or beer. The Africans had the lowest incidence of use as 46.6 percent stated they had used it while only 17.3 percent had used it ten times or more. The Coloureds indicated that 71.3 percent of them had used alcohol, while 26.4 percent had used it ten times or more. The most frequent users were the Whites where 88.3 percent had used alcohol and 57.0 percent had used it ten times or more.

Due to religious and moral rules of abstention the Indian high school seniors must be discussed separately. Only 43.3 percent indicated that they had ever used alcohol and of these only 12.2 percent had used it ten times or more. While not all the Indians are strictly religious, it will be recalled that most of them were Hindus or Moslems. Whereas many Hindu rituals recognize cannabis, this does not apply to alcohol and the Koran specifically forbids the use of alcohol.

The Afrikaans medium school is once again the exception among the four White schools. The three English medium schools have seniors who have used alcohol in 91.2 percent, 93.6 percent, and 93.9 percent of the cases, respectively. The Afrikaans medium high school's seniors claim that only 60.3 percent of them have used alcohol. These same ratios apply to the frequent use of beer and wine.

Spirits. In contrast to beer and wine we asked the pupils to indicate the number of times they had used spirits, and we mentioned whiskey, gin, vokla, etc. as the most common examples. Table 23 presents the replies to this question.

Table 23

Frequency of Use of Spirits by High School Seniors in Durban

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Frequency	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Never	157	78.1	44	52.4	234	73.8	142	32.0
1-2 times	21	10.4	16	19.0	30	9.5	91	20.2
3-5 times	5	2.5	5	6.0	9	2.8	37	8.3
6-9 times	1	0.5	6	7.1	7	2.2	43	9.7
10+ times	13	6.5	13	15.5	33	10.4	130	29.3
Yes NFI*	4	2.0	0	0.0	4	1.3	2	0.4
Total	201	100.00	84	100.0	317	100.0	445	99.9
N.R.	27		5		20		53	

Here again we find the same pattern as we did regarding beer and wine: the Whites as the most frequent and largest number of users; the Indian and African as the least frequent and smallest number who had tried spirits. These figures may represent economic ability, but in addition they almost certainly express the authority of parents and the permissiveness with which the parents view alcohol use. It should also be reiterated that spirits have become the legal drug of the White community and were the earlier symbol for expressing resistance and independence.

If we turn to the four White high schools the differences between the English medium and Afrikaans medium schools show very clearly. Table 24 contrasts the latter in every category.

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*NFI - No Further Information - Students responded positively to the question that they had smoked but did not indicate frequency.

Table 24

Frequency of Use of Spirits by High School Seniors in White High Schools in Durban

Frequency	English Medium High School on City Outskirts		Afrikaans Medium Urban High School		English Medium Wealthy Neighborhood Boys School		English Medium Wealthy Neighborhood Girls School	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Never	26	25.0	46	73.0	31	22.8	39	27.5
1-2 times	20	19.2	5	7.9	28	20.6	38	26.8
3-5 times	6	5.8	1	1.6	16	11.8	14	9.9
6-9 times	11	10.6	2	3.2	11	8.1	19	13.4
10+ times	41	39.4	71	11.1	50	36.8	32	22.5
Use NFI*	0	0.0	2	3.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	104	100.0	127	100.0	136	100.0	142	100.0
N.R.	15		25		10		3	

Amphetamines. In presenting this type of drug as an alternative, a number of examples were mentioned in parentheses so that the pupils knew what was being discussed.

The tabulation of results shows a very low incidence of amphetamine use as only two percent of the African respondents, 2.4 percent of the Coloureds, 4.7 percent of the Indians, and 7.7 percent of the Whites had ever used this category of drug. The Whites show the only significant distribution with 24 persons (representing 6.2 percent of those who answered the question) having used amphetamines one to five times, and six persons (1.5 percent) having used six or more times. The highest incidence is in the boys' school, and only three of these pupils attend the Afrikaans medium school.

Comparison between our sample and that of Hindmarch is difficult for a number of reasons. His subjects were predisposed toward amphetamines because "cannabis costs more per unit on the black market than do the amphetamines" (1972:25). This is, of course, quite a difference between South Africa and the United Kingdom. Then, too, he found that 85 percent of the school-aged drug users had in fact used amphetamines. The incidence clearly contrasts with our inter-ethnic sample. There is a greater comparability between our data and the situation in the Netherlands. Buikhuisen and Timmerman conclude that in spite of the fact that between 13 percent and 14 percent of their school sample had tried amphetamines (1972:14) "hashish and marijuana seem to be by far the most popular. The substances were taken by 88.3 percent of the users" (1972:9).

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*NFI - No Further Information - Student responded positively to the question that they had smoked but did not indicate frequency.

Barbiturates. Here again a number of common referents were used in parentheses so that the high school pupils knew to what they were responding.

For the first time the Whites constitute the smallest number of users. But the number of persons who have tried this category of drugs is really insignificant. Four Africans, one Coloured, nine Indians, and three Whites indicated that they had tried barbiturates. One Coloured and one White, a boy at an English medium boys' school, had used them more than ten times and may in fact have been regular users. This question was marked by the large number of non-responses, particularly among the Whites.

Hallucinogens. Very few students had used this variety of drug and once again the Whites were among the highest percentage of non-users. Eleven Indians (3.5 percent), ten Africans (5.0 percent), one Coloured (1.3 percent), and seven Whites (1.8 percent) indicated that they had tried LSD or some other hallucinogen.

Whiffers. The use of inhalants is much more common among South African school children than the use of hard drugs.

Tetrachloride, cleaning fluids, benzine and methalated spirits can be found in most kitchens. All a person needs to do to obtain lighter fluids, gasoline or kerosene is to visit his father's storage room or garage. Around the home somewhere he is bound to find paint thinner, shellac, plastic cement or model airplane glue. And so, the voluntary inhalation or sniffing of volatile organic solvents and compounds is as easy as picking up a cigarette. Allen (1966) and Prebble and Laury (1967) did the first reports on this phenomenon in the United States but not much has been done since then. In spite of the inherent dangers and potential dependence, researchers have concentrated on more exotic drugs instead of the very common, always available supply of hydrocarbons, ketones, alcohols and glycols.

Table 25 indicates that inhalants are a fairly frequently used drug, either on an experimental basis or more regularly.

Table 25

Frequency of the Use of Inhalants by High School Seniors in Durban

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Frequency	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Never	166	83.4	70	87.5	287	90.3	394	88.6
1-2 times	17	8.5	8	10.0	21	6.6	32	8.1
3-5 times	6	3.0	1	1.2	5	1.6	3	0.8
6-9 times	3	1.5	0	0.0	2	0.6	1	0.3
10+ times	6	3.0	1	1.2	2	0.6	8	2.0
Yes NFI	1	0.5	0	0.0	1	0.3	1	0.3
Total	199	99.9	80	99.9	318	100.0	439	100.1
N.R.	29		9		19		59	

Because inhalants appear to be so innoxious, a large number of young persons experiment with them. But two percent of the Whites and three percent of the Africans have used this drug more than ten times or were regular users. We do not have a breakdown available by sex, but the two White schools which are segregated by sex show that the only seven girls who have tried inhalants did so once or twice only; the boys reflect a large number of persons in the once or twice category and six persons in the ten times or more category.

The Indians have the smallest percentage of experimenters in this category of drugs while the Africans have the highest percentage. The "use of benzine or petrol" is a common categorization by youngsters of their use of inhalants.

Heroin. Possibly because of the complicated method of administering heroin, it is the drug with the lowest use incidence. Not a single Coloured pupil has used it, and only one White. Three Africans and four Indians indicate that they have experimented with heroin, but none of these have used it more than experimentally.

Opium. In spite of the tradition of opium use among the Indian population group, very few pupils have experimented. One Coloured and six Indian pupils have tried it once, five African pupils indicated that they had experimented once or twice, and nine Whites claimed to have used opium. While one pupil in each of the schools (excluding the high prestige boys' high school) had tried opium once or twice, there were six boys in the latter school who had experimented with it. One each of the remaining two had used it six to nine times and more than ten times, respectively.

To summarize the position for the White high school seniors, the reader is referred to Table 26. It is an attempt to present on a single page the figures which form the basis of much of the previous discussion.

Having completed this survey of their drug using history and experience, the high school seniors were asked about their intentions for the future. The question read: "Which of the following substances that you have not used would you be willing to try if you had the chance?" It was argued that many of them were going to have the chance or would find themselves in situations where other drugs are available. The question, therefore, measured attitude toward drug use rather than empirically recording the drugs they would use if available.

Tobacco. An interesting contrast showed up in this question between Whites versus the other groups. Among the

Table 26

Per Cent and Number of Respondents by Frequency of Use Among High School Seniors in Durban

Respondent's Use of Other Drugs	Never	Once or Twice	3-5 Times	6-9 Times	10+ Times	Varies	Total	No Response
Tobacco	29.9 (135)	20.6 (93)	6.2 (28)	6.4 (29)	36.7 (166)	0.2 (1)	100.0 (452)	(46)
Alcohol	11.7 (56)	15.1 (72)	6.7 (32)	8.4 (40)	57.0 (272)	1.0 (5)	100.0 (477)	(21)
Spirits	31.9 (142)	20.4 (91)	8.3 (37)	9.7 (43)	29.2 (130)	0.4 (2)	100.0 (445)	(53)
Amphetamines	92.3 (360)	5.9 (23)	0.3 (1)	0.5 (2)	1.0 (4)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (390)	(108)
Barbituates	99.2 (382)	0.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (385)	(113)
Hallucinogens	98.2 (378)	0.8 (3)	0.3 (1)	0.3 (1)	0.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (385)	(113)
Whiffers	88.6 (349)	8.1 (32)	0.8 (3)	0.3 (1)	2.0 (8)	0.3 (1)	100.0 (394)	(104)
Heroin	99.7 (382)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (383)	(115)
Opium	97.7 (378)	1.6 (6)	0.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (387)	(111)
Other	94.9 (244)	0.8 (2)	1.2 (3)	0.0 (0)	1.9 (5)	1.2 (3)	100.0 (257)	(241)

African pupils 21.6 percent of those who had not used tobacco intended to do so while 39.2 percent would not; 12.5 percent of the Coloureds who were not tobacco smokers would do so versus 26.2 percent who would not; only 15.6 percent of the Indians who did not smoke intended changing while 44.6 percent would continue to abstain. It will be recalled that 70.0 percent of the Whites had smoked, 4.3 percent indicated that they would experiment with tobacco while the remaining 25.7 percent were not planning to change their abstention.

Alcohol. The picture with regard to the use of beer and wine is much the same as the former category. While 38.2 percent had used alcohol, 10.0 percent of the Africans intended trying it while 37.8 percent were certain that they would not. Due to tradition and religion we find an exceptionally large percentage of Indians who would not use alcohol. In fact, only 38.2 percent had used and 51.0 percent had no intention of using. Both White and Coloured showed about the same percentage increase as regards alcohol as they did with regard to tobacco.

Spirits and Other Drugs. Moving away from the relatively innoxious drugs we find larger percentages who intend remaining disassociated from drug use. While the percentage of persons who had experimented was small, most of those who had not experimented with drugs had no intention of starting. Table 27 summarizes this information.

Table 27

Future Plans to Experiment with Drugs

	Africans	Coloureds	Indians	Whites
Spirits:				
Have Used	24.1	55.6	23.3	70.3
Yes	12.9	2.8	7.5	6.5
No	63.0	41.7	69.2	23.2
Amphetamines:				
Have Used	2.0	4.0	3.4	10.0
Yes	7.3	10.0	5.1	9.2
No	90.7	86.0	91.4	80.8
Barbiturates:				
Have Used	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.3
Yes	6.8	13.7	8.5	4.9
No	91.2	84.3	89.4	93.7
Hallucinogens:				
Have Used	5.8	2.0	2.7	1.8
Yes	12.3	10.0	11.2	5.9
No	81.9	88.0	86.1	92.3
Whiffers:				
Have Used	14.0	18.9	8.8	12.6
Yes	4.9	3.8	3.4	4.2
No	75.6	77.4	87.9	83.2
Heroin:				
Have Used	1.4	0.0	0.7	0.9
Yes	6.2	8.2	14.7	2.3
No	91.8	91.3	86.6	96.8
Opium:				
Have Used	3.2	2.0	1.7	2.7
Yes	15.3	10.2	15.3	3.2
No	80.9	87.8	83.1	94.1

III. UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE STUDENTS

In trying to decide how to obtain a representative sample of university students unbiased by later specialization, e.g., theology students versus medical students, it was decided to poll a freshman English class. Since English is one of the official languages in South Africa and anybody, irrespective of later specialization and pre-professional training, may study it, we selected this class. This discussion will not basically compare intra-ethnic variations in drug use although differences between high school pupils and university students of the same ethnic group may be pointed out. We will emphasize differences and similarities between ethnic groups.

III.1. Age

While the high school pupils were all seniors, an English first level class is not necessarily composed of freshmen. There may be repeaters or more advanced students who take an English course. Persons may have been out of school for a couple of years before returning. This diversity in age is highlighted by the fact that our sample covered a very wide range as can be seen in Table 28.

The average age for high school pupils to complete the twelfth grade in South Africa is seventeen. Some obviously may be a year younger; others, either because they started school later or because they had to repeat a year, are slightly older. One could thus expect the largest number of university freshmen to be eighteen and nineteen. In the case of African youths who had a harder time completing their studies, very often not starting school until they were eight or nine years old, university freshmen are much older. Among the African students a large number of persons have returned for tertiary education or specialized training after working for a while to earn money. Students may even drop out to earn money and then continue, thus completing a three year course in six years, having worked alternate years.

Table 28

Age Distribution of University Sample

Age	African Number	African Per Cent	Coloured Number	Coloured Per Cent	Indian Number	Indian Per Cent	White Number	White Per Cent
17	2	1.0	2	4.3	12	4.8	12	5.9
18	8	4.0	18	38.3	54	21.6	97	48.0
19	29	14.4	11	23.4	76	30.4	51	25.2
20	39	19.2	6	12.8	59	23.6	24	11.9
21	39	19.2	5	10.6	29	11.6	10	5.0
22	27	13.4	1	2.1	7	2.8	1	0.5
23	28	13.9	0	0.0	7	2.8	0	0.0
24+	30	14.9	4	8.5	6	2.4	7	3.5
Total	202	100.0	47	100.0	250	100.0	202	100.0

The White and Coloured samples contain the youngest students while the African sample is the most spread out and contains a very large number of older students. It should be kept in mind that age may influence the maturity of responses and views on drug use.

III.2. Sex

In three samples male students outnumber females. Thus there are 118 (59.9 percent) male and 79 (40.1 percent) female African students, and 108 (54.3 percent) male and 91 (45.7 percent) female White students. The sexual imbalance in the African and Indian sample may be explained in terms of traditional social structure and values.

Coloured females outnumber their male counterparts but this must be explained in the light of the college they attend. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Coloured students usually go to the University of the Western Cape which is designated "Coloured University." The institution sampled here, located in Durban, is a teachers training college where one might expect a female predominance in numbers.

III.3. Language

As was the case with the high school pupils, the African students were mostly Zulu speaking (86.1 percent), while Xhosa (5.4 percent), Sotho (3.5 percent) and Swazi (4.0 percent) are about equally represented. Only one lists his home language as English.

Among the Whites, however, English is the home language of 92.0 percent of the students; another seven percent list "other" as their home language. These are most likely the children of immigrant families. Only one student indicates Afrikaans as his home language.

Much the same picture emerges for the Coloured students where 87.2 percent use English, but 6.[illegible] percent are Afrikaans-speaking, and a further 4.2 percent are bilingual, using both the official languages. One student indicates Tamil to be her home language.

The Indian students show a slightly different language distribution than the high school seniors polled. Once again, English is the most frequent home language, spoken by 38.4 percent of the students. Gujarati (24.0 percent), Tamil (14.4 percent), Hindi (10.8 percent), and Urdu (5.6 percent) are the major Indian languages spoken. The rest of the students spoke Telegu, Afrikaans, Arabic and other languages.

III.4. Future Plans

Since these students were already at the university, in other words they were already a select group, we find here a much higher percentage who intend spending their next year in the university. We find the highest percentage among the Whites (94.5 percent), followed by Indian (85.2 percent) and African (82.7 percent) students. The Coloureds who were at a post-matriculation institution, but not a university were left with a choice. We find then that thirteen percent plan to stay at the teachers training college.

Small numbers of students in all groups, except the Coloureds, plan to get a job and go to work, while some had not yet decided what to do.

III.5. Religion

Once again religious affiliation, like language, shows some variation along ethnic lines; this is particularly true as regards the Indians. While small numbers of Indian students belong to denominations of Christian churches, 61.5 percent of them are Hindus and 30.8 percent are Moslems. The total of the latter two Eastern religions are nearly the same for the school and university sample.

Among the Africans, Christian mission churches have made great inroads. Only two persons, classified here under "other," denoted themselves to be traditionalists. Miscellaneous Christian sects claim a large following among the Africans because "in South Africa especially there has been a very strong undercurrent of religious independence, and the groups which are formed represent independent movements, off-shoots from existing Christian churches, off-shoots from cult-groups, and off-shoots from off-shoots" (du Toit, 1970:42).

It might be appropriate at this stage to point out that the rubric "other" includes churches and denominations which have only a few members or which are restricted to one particular ethnic group. Thus, it includes Baptists, Dutch Reformed, Lutheran, and among the White students twenty persons who indicated "Jewish" as their religion. The Whites also include the largest number who claim to be atheists or agnostics. One person claims to be Hindu in religion and we recorded it as such.

Among the Coloureds it is much more likely that both Hinduism and Islam would count followers. The major church affiliation, however, is Catholic while three persons belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church, here included under "other."

The religious group membership is outlined in Table 29.

Table 29

Religious Group and Denominational Affiliation of University and College Students

Affiliation	African Number	African Per Cent	Coloured Number	Coloured Per Cent	Indian Number	Indian Per Cent	White Number	White Per Cent
Anglican	34	17.2	5	10.9	3	1.2	50	24.8
Catholic	42	21.2	23	50.1	4	1.6	46	22.8
Hindu	0	0.0	1	2.2	152	61.5	1	0.5
Islam	1	0.5	4	8.7	76	30.8	0	0.0
Methodist	47	23.7	2	4.4	3	1.2	30	14.6
Presbyterian	11	5.5	1	2.1	2	0.8	25	12.4
Miscellaneous Christian Sects	28	14.1	5	10.8	2	0.8	6	3.0
None	0	0.0	1	2.1	2	0.8	19	9.3
Other	35	17.7	4	8.7	3	1.2	25	12.5
Total	198	100.0	46	100.0	247	100.0	202	100.0
No Response	4		1		3			

III.6. Social Clubs

Universities and colleges, unlike the high schools we discussed above, have a large number of students in dormitories on campus. This facilitates the organization and functioning of sports teams, social clubs, debating societies, and academic meetings. But this does not predispose students to belong to such clubs. Only the Africans show a majority who belong to social clubs with 60.6 percent replying in the affirmative. The University of Zululand is the only one of the four institutions covered here which does not have any significant number of commuter students. The University is located in the country and has a well organized system of dormitories for men and for women. These students are, therefore, cut off from many other forms of entertainment and are dependent on social clubs and club functions.

The Coloured teacher trainees are about equally divided between those who belong to a club and those who do not. They contrast quite sharply with both Indians and Whites, primarily commuter campuses although both have dormitory facilities, where 35.9 percent and 29.8 percent, respectively, claim membership in a social club.

III.7. Family Background

This section includes the information gained from three questions, namely: the kind of family in which these students were reared; the age at which changes in family structure occurred; and the relationship with parents or guardian.

Most of the students, 86.6 percent of the Whites, 86.0 percent of the Indians, 75.6 percent of the Coloureds, and 71.3 percent of the Africans, were brought up in a nuclear family where the father and mother were present. As was the case with the school sample, very few Indians, in fact only a total of three persons or 1.2 percent, came from homes where divorce or separation had terminated the parental union. This contrasted quite sharply with the Whites where five percent of the parents were separated or divorced as were the parents of five percent African and 4.4 percent of the Coloured students. The largest category other than nuclear families was that of the student living with a widowed mother. This family type accounted for 5[illegible] percent of the White, 6.9 percent of the African, 7.2 percent of the Indian, and 11.1 percent of the Coloured students.

For most of the students any change from the basic nuclear family occurred while they were very young, i.e., before their fifth year and in a smaller number of cases between their sixth and tenth year of life. One could thus suggest that they were exposed to fairly uniform social influences.

The relationships between students and their parents or guardians were generally of a very positive nature. Characterizing their relationships as "very good" or "all right" were 96.4 percent of the Indian, 95.4 percent of the African, 93.5

percent of the White and 91.3 percent of the Coloured students. More than three quarters in each case belonged to the first category and were in a very good relationship.

III.8. The Economic Picture

A researcher is always struck by the contrast in the employment and financial situation of the different ethnic groups in South Africa. In the first question on this topic, students were asked to identify the occupation of their family's main provider. A very large number of occupations were recorded but in each ethnic group two occupations emerged as the most common. Among the African students, 18.9 percent were the children of teachers, and 16.9 percent the children of laborers. Among the Coloured, 20.9 percent were the offspring of teachers and 11.6 percent the offspring of skilled craftsmen. For the Indian students, 12.4 percent of the parents were in commercial business, and 10.2 percent were shopkeepers, while the Whites had 9.6 percent who were professional-administrative, 8.6 percent who were managerial, seven percent who were accountants, and seven percent who were engineers.

It is to be expected that the income levels will vary with the kind of jobs available and the jobs for which the parents were equipped. When one related the job (which reflects legislation, education opportunities, etc.) to income these lines are drawn so much more clearly. Using the same income categories as we used for the high school pupils, we find that the picture here is just as sharply contrasted. In the first income category, i.e., below R90 per month or R1080 per year, we find only 0.6 percent of the Whites, 12.5 percent of the Indians, 29.5 percent of the Coloureds and 58.3 percent of the Africans. The other end of the income scale is almost a mirror image of the former figures. Here we now find 65.7 percent of the Whites, 10.2 percent of the Indian, 6.6 percent of the Coloureds, and only 1.8 percent of the Africans who earn more than R530 per month or R6360 per year.

The parents of university level students are thus slightly better off financially than those of high school pupils. The relative position of the four ethnic groups, however, is still the same.

III.9. Migration

The last topic in the general background section dealt with the places where students had lived during their lives. It should be pointed out that since these are institutions of tertiary education they cater to a much wider geographical region than do high schools. Strictly speaking, for instance, the University of Zululand caters to all Zulu speaking persons all over South Africa, as does the University of Durban-Westville for the Indian population.

It is then to be expected that a larger percentage of students would derive from small towns or even rural areas. We find in fact that 74.7 percent of the Indians, 75.8 percent of the Whites, and 64.4 percent of the Coloureds spent the six years prior to completing this questionnaire in an urban area. In the case of the Africans the figure is lower. Only 59.6 percent had lived in Durban or another city, and 13.1 percent had lived in a farm area. The equivalent figures for the other groups are 5.1 percent for White, 3.2 percent for Indian, and 2.2 percent for Coloured students.

By comparison with the high school pupils, these university students are less urban oriented. Larger numbers come from farms, or had at least lived in small towns.

III.10. The Use of Cannabis

The questions on which this section is based asked the student about the history of his cannabis use, the current pattern and locus of such use, and the social context of his first use.

This information gives us a clear picture of the extent of cannabis use by this interethnic sample of students. We frequently hear from different sources about the extent of drug use by students, or we read superficial surveys. The data presented here will be compared with comparative material from other sources and other countries.

Table 30 reports on the number of students who have never used cannabis as compared with those who have. As could be expected, the number who have never used it is significantly lower among university students than among high school seniors. Among the African students 76.5 percent now claim never to have used as compared to 82.8 percent of the pupils; among the Coloured there is the largest change from 70.2 percent among students to 87.6 percent at the high school level.

Table 30

The History of Cannabis Use by University and College Students

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Frequency	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Never	153	76.5	33	70.2	183	73.2	152	76.0
1 - 2	20	10.0	5	10.6	33	13.2	16	8.0
3 - 5	5	2.5	3	6.4	10	4.0	6	3.0
6 - 9	3	1.5	2	4.3	9	3.6	4	2.0
10 - 14	2	1.0	0	0.0	2	0.8	3	1.5
15 - 19	1	0.5	0	0.0	1	0.4	2	1.0
20+	16	8.0	4	8.5	12	4.8	17	8.5
Total	200	100.0	47	100.0	250	100.0	200	100.0
No Response	2						2	

The Indians show the same change as the Africans, namely, 73.2 percent as compared to 80.1 percent at school; and the Whites now show 76.0 percent compared to 85.7 percent among the school pupils.

But among all the ethnic groups, except the Indians, the number of persons who have used twenty times show a slight decrease. These figures suggest that 24.0 percent of the White students have smoked cannabis. These figures contrast quite strongly with those said to have been reported during 1973 in "Varsity," the student newspaper at the University of Cape Town. According to that report (*Die Transvaler*, 11 August 1973), 59.0 percent of all the students at the University of Cape Town smoked cannabis. Some years ago a similar survey was made among the students at the University of Natal. The report (*Dome*, April 17, 1969) claims that an average of 34.2 percent of all students, male and female, had taken cannabis. Both these student surveys at South African universities produced higher percentages of use than our questionnaire. Herr and Morley (1972) on the other hand, did a more controlled survey, using a questionnaire as we did, and administering it to a sample of undergraduates, presumably at the University of the Witwatersrand. According to their survey, 22.1 percent of the students had used cannabis. This figure is certainly more compatible with our finding of 24.0 percent of students who have tried cannabis at least once. This is particularly interesting in the light of two facts: our research was carried out two years later, and it pertained to a university in the heartland of the best cannabis cultivation.

Indicating use of the drug does not imply that the student is a drug user. As clearly stated above, having used a drug once qualifies a person for inclusion in the user category. We might even use the term "experienced group" to refer to these persons as Grupp, McCain and Schmitt (1971) have done. They then subdivide the experienced group on the basis of the frequency of use. Thus, we find that 6.1 percent of the Indians, 5.2 percent of the Whites, 4.2 percent of the Africans, and 2.2 percent of the Coloureds had used cannabis during the week in which the questionnaire was completed. Almost twice that number had used within the last year, and we can see that "user" includes the regular smoker and the one time experimenter.

But the previous question had dealt only with the last time the drug had been used. We next asked the students how frequently they used cannabis. Here we see that the frequency of those who use daily, or at least once or twice per week, is higher than among high school seniors. Among the Africans, 2.7 percent use the drug on a daily basis, while 4.3 percent of the Coloureds, 1.7 percent of the Indians, and 2.1 percent of the Whites are marked by this regularity of use. While no Coloureds use cannabis once or twice a week, 3.7 percent of the Africans, 2.1 percent of the Indians, and 4.3 percent of the Whites smoke the drug at a minimum once a week.

When we asked the students about their furture plans regarding cannabis use we again found a much higher frequency who intended to use than we had among the high school seniors. While the figures for those who state that they will definitely not smoke cannabis are lower here, due in part to a larger number of users, those who state that they will "probably not" is also much higher indicating a wide marginal group who have nothing morally against the use of this drug and will most likely try it if the right situation presents itself. A further interesting fact emerges from a comparison of our last table (Table 30) and the information contained in Table 31. There is a marked difference between the total who state that they have never used and those who do not intend to use. This confirms that a large number of persons whom we included in the user or experienced category had only experimented with the drug. While they are included in the former category they do not intend using cannabis again.

Table 31

Expected Use of Cannabis During the Next Year by University and College Students

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Frequency	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1 - 2+	3	1.6	2	4.3	10	4.0	10	5.1
1 - 2	2	1.1	1	2.1	5	2.0	1	0.5
Maybe 1 - 2	11	5.9	1	2.1	23	9.3	12	6.1
Probably not	11	5.9	6	12.8	33	13.3	30	15.2
Definitely not	161	85.6	37	78.7	177	71.4	145	73.2
Total	188	100.0	47	100.0	248	100.0	198	100.0
No Response	14				2		4	

The questionnaire then covered the history of the first use of cannabis and the conditions which influenced this first use. It is of interest that this material from university students confirms the position outlined by our high school seniors in Table 7 above. Once again we find that insignificant numbers in all four ethnic groups started smoking cannabis prior to high school. A relatively smaller number started during their first three years at high school than during their final two years at high school. This was not true for the African students, for in both the high school and the university sample almost twice as many started during Standards Six through Eight as did those in Standards Nine or Ten. A relatively small number of students, except among the Indians, started smoking cannabis after they had left high school. This high incidence of cannabis use initiation at the university level may be due to the fact that the University of Durban-Westville had, at the time of this study, the largest number of activists of the four tertiary institutions studied. It might also be due to the fact that for the first time students were now housed in dormitories which gave them greater independence and privacy from parental influence.

Table 32

History of First Cannabis Use by University and College Students

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Time Period	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
NA	152	76.0	33	70.2	180	72.6	153	75.7
Before high school	4	2.0	0	0.0	3	1.2	0	0.0
During Std 6-8	22	11.0	3	6.4	10	4.0	11	5.4
During Std 9-10	15	7.5	8	17.0	32	12.9	25	12.4
After Std 10	7	3.5	3	6.4	23	9.3	13	6.4
Total	200	100.0	47	100.0	248	100.0	202	99.9
No Response	2				2			

III.11. The Social Background

The questions covered in this section deal with the friends who influenced the subjects and who may have introduced them to the use of cannabis. We were further concerned with the general parental attitudes and actions regarding drug use as these may be critical factors influencing a young person.

As was the case with the high school pupils, the majority of users were influenced by friends from the same neighborhood as friends at school. The suggestion that drug use is primarily an urban characteristic and that it is introduced by urban friends proved negative in both these samples. The opposite, that cannabis is a rural drug identified basically with a traditional African lifestyle and that its use therefore would spread from rural areas, was proved equally negative. The slightly larger numbers in this category among the university sample must be explained in terms of the larger number of students who come from rural areas or small towns as was illustrated above in the section dealing with migration. The information pertaining to who introduced the subject to cannabis smoking is tabulated in Table 33.

Table 33

Who Introduced the Student to Cannabis Use?

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Who Introduced?	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
NA	151	75.6	33	70.2	178	71.8	153	75.2
Neighborhood Friend	15	7.5	2	4.3	22	8.9	21	10.3
Friend in other City	5	2.5	3	2.1	5	2.0	4	2.0
Friend in Rural Area	3	1.5	2	4.3	6	2.4	3	1.5
Friend at school	20	10.0	7	14.9	24	9.7	8	4.6
Other	6	3.0	2	4.3	13	5.2	13	6.4
Total	200	100.1	49	100.1	248	100.0	202	100.0
No Response	2				2			

Many of these university students have had diverse experiences such as attending conferences outside the country, traveling overseas, or possibly experimenting on their own. "Other" pertains to these situations.

The question which follows, of course, is where cannabis use most frequently occurs. If people smoke the drug mostly in the company of neighborhood friends, it could be expected that they will smoke it in different places than if they smoked it with school friends. Among the African students no single location emerged as the most frequented, but among the Coloureds who attended a small urban college, most of the students indicated that they used it away from school, with "home" being mentioned most frequently. This was also true for the Indian students and particularly for the Whites. Schools and university campuses are well patrolled and it would be relatively difficult for a person to smoke cannabis in the immediate confines of the buildings. It is also possible that a person may have known friends in the neighborhood who smoke the drug and in spite of this they have remained friends. Such persons might then have good or best friends who smoke while they themselves do not.

To clarify this question, we asked the students about their three best friends at school and at home, and how many of them smoked cannabis. Table 34 shows a marked difference from the same information for high school seniors as presented in Table 9 above. There are a lower number of persons who claim not to have a best friend who smokes, and conversely there are more persons who identify their best friends as cannabis smokers. This is particularly true for the Coloured students. Table 35 shows the number of students who admit to having best friends at home whom they know to be drug users. Here we do not find the great difference, in contrast to Table 10 above, that we found with reference to school friends. This suggests that friendships are not basically influenced by drug use and that friends in the family neighborhood who may have taken a job or pursued some alternative in education or training, remain friends irrespective of the use of cannabis. The only exception in this table is the

Coloured sample where 70.8 percent of the high school seniors claimed not to have a best friend at home who smoked cannabis, while those at training college made this same claim in only 59.6 percent of the cases. Conversely, many more Coloured college students have one or two best friends who smoke than their counterparts at high school.

Table 34

Number of Best Friends *at School* Who Use Cannabis

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Number Who Use	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0	137	68.5	140	56.0	27	57.4	119	58.9
1	17	8.5	46	18.4	11	23.4	37	18.3
2	9	4.5	22	8.8	5	10.6	12	5.9
3	11	5.5	18	7.2	0	0.0	18	8.9
DK	26	13.0	24	9.6	4	8.5	16	7.9
Total	200	100.0	250	100.0	47	99.9	202	99.9
NR	2							

Table 35

Number of Best Friends *at Home* Who Use Cannabis

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Number Who Use	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0	137	68.5	28	59.6	196	78.7	127	63.2
1	14	7.0	8	17.0	22	8.8	27	13.4
2	11	5.5	6	12.8	10	4.0	15	7.5
3	8	4.0	2	4.3	8	3.2	18	9.0
DK	30	15.0	3	6.4	13	5.2	14	7.0
Total	200	100.0	47	100.1	249	99.9	201	100.1

Perhaps as important as friends, initially at least, is the role of the parents and the values they instill. As with the high school sample, we asked the students about the alcohol and cannabis use of their parents, and about the parents' likely reaction to the student's experimentation with alcohol or cannabis.

As was the case with the high school sample, we find a very high incidence of alcohol use among Whites and a very low incidence among Indians. This is particularly so in the case of women. In the case of Indians, students reported that 93.0 per cent of their mothers did not use alcohol. This is, of course, in keeping with the injunction affecting both the Hindu and Islamic religion and also in keeping with the traditional role expected of women (du Toit, 1977). Most of the other women (6.1 percent) use alcohol occasionally. The African students report the same conservatism as 86.8 percent of their mothers do not use at all and 10.9 percent use alcohol only on social occasions. The Whites have a low of 22.4 percent who never use and 62.2 percent whose mothers use on social occasions, while the Coloureds report that their mothers never use alcohol in 66.7 percent of the cases and use on social occasions in 26.7 percent of the cases. Only the Whites have a significant number, 9.2 percent of the sample, whose mothers are regular users of alcohol.

If we turn our attention to the fathers of these students, as tabulated in Table 36, we do not see significant changes in the relative position of the groups. We do see the same pattern on a much more intense scale. The Indians are still the highest percentage of abstainers, while the Whites are the lowest. The Whites also have the highest incidence of social and regular drinking but the lowest incidence of problem drinking.

The question which naturally flows from this is what the attitude of these parents would be to their children's use of or experimentation with alcohol. It is of considerable interest that the parental attitude in all cases more clearly represents the father's pattern of alcohol use than that of the mother. Thus, we find that 4.5 percent of the White students say their parents would express strong disapproval (the fathers showed a teetotaler figure of 9.7 percent while the mothers did not drink in 22.4 percent of the cases). In the case of the Coloureds the figure is 54.3 percent, for the Africans it is 54.3 percent, and for the Indians 69.9 percent. Looking at the parental attitude from the other angle we find that 12.4 percent of the White students claim that their parents are "extremely permissive" regarding their use of alcohol. The African students claim that in three percent and the Indians in two percent of the cases, but not a single Coloured felt that the parents would be extremely permissive. If we look at the category dealing with "tolerant of use in social situations only" we find 60.2 percent of the Whites, 23.9 percent of the Coloureds, 14.2 percent of the Africans, and 11.6 percent of the Indians. These figures are all slightly higher, possibly recognizing the difference in age and status of student versus pupil, than those which applied to the high school seniors. The Coloureds are an exception as we find a slight decrease in the percentage.

Table 36

Pattern of Alcohol Use by Fathers of University and College Students

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Frequency	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Not at all	94	52.5	20	46.5	146	60.1	19	9.7
Occasional Social	45	25.1	12	27.9	63	25.9	105	53.6
Considerable Social	14	7.8	3	7.0	10	4.1	25	12.8
Regular Use	14	7.8	4	9.3	20	8.2	37	18.9
Problem Drinking	10	5.6	4	9.3	4	1.6	3	1.5
NA	2	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	3.6
Total	179	100.0	43	100.0	243	100.0	196	100.0
No Response	23		4		7		6	

Moving from the realm of legitimate drug use, namely alcohol consumption, we moved to the illegitimate use of cannabis. Once again the identical questions in the same sequence were used except that the word "dagga" took the place of the word "alcohol."

As was the case with high school seniors we find a very high percentage who responded with a definite "No" when asked if their mothers had ever used cannabis. In the case of the Coloureds one hundred percent responded in this fashion, while 97.1 percent of the Indian and 93.0 percent of the Whites were likewise sure that their mothers had never experimented with this drug. As was the case for high school pupils, 88.8 percent of the African students answered negatively. There was, however, a relatively large percentage of students who were not sure and this allowed only 0.8 percent of the Indians, 1.1 percent of the Africans, and 1.5 percent of the Whites to state definitely that their mothers had used cannabis.

When we turn to the fathers the picture changes slightly. Again we find that 89.8 percent of the Indians, 87.3 percent of the Whites and 82.6 percent of the Coloured were sure their fathers had never used cannabis. Among the African students 75.9 percent were similarly convinced. Those who were not quite sure about their fathers' drug using history are quite numerous. Among the African and Coloured we find twenty percent and 17.4 percent, respectively, while the White and Indian show 6.6 percent and 6.1 percent, respectively. This leaves ten (4.1 percent) of the Indian, seven (3.6 percent) of the African, and five (2.5 percent) of the White students who knew that their fathers had used this drug. Once again the Coloureds were sure that their fathers had never tried cannabis.

But what is the attitude of parents who have drug using histories such as we just discussed to cannabis use by their children? The response to this question or at least the children's response to reflect their parents' attitudes appear in Table 37.

As was the case in the previous two questions, the Coloured students stand apart from the other three ethnic groups. All of them thought that their parents would be disapproving or intensely disapproving of their experimentation with cannabis. This agrees with the position taken by the high school seniors. The Indian and African students were convinced of degrees of disapproval in 94.3 percent and 94.5 percent of the cases and the Whites in 92.5 percent of the cases. But it is in the "tolerant" categories where the differences is once again reflected. White students feel that 5.5 percent of their parents would tolerate their regular smoking of cannabis or on a trial basis. This position is shared by four percent of the Indian students but by only 1.5 percent of the Africans.

Table 37

Reaction of Parents to Cannabis Use by University and College Students

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Reaction	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Tolerant of Regular Use	2	1.0	0	0.0	1	0.4	1	0.5
Tolerant of Trial Use	1	0.5	0	0.0	9	3.6	10	5.0
Indifferent	8	4.0	0	0.0	4	1.6	1	0.5
Disapproving	30	15.0	4	8.9	15	6.0	44	21.9
Intense Disapproval	159	79.5	41	91.1	219	88.3	142	70.6
Mixed Reactions	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
DK	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.0
Total	200	100.0	45	100.0	248	99.9	201	100.0
No Response	2		2		2		1	

Once again the fact emerges that the parents' attitudes, as seen by their children, more closely approximate the drug use pattern of the father than that of the mother. This would allow us to postulate that: (a) the attitudes of parents regarding the drug use of their children approximates the pattern of use of the most liberal of the two parents; or, (b) since the man is dominant in the family structure of all four social groups being discussed here, the parental attitude is guided by the father's own attitude regarding drugs. These questions might be looked into in future research.

Having discussed friends and parents, we moved into the realm of persons whose opinions are valued. Our question asked each student to "please list those persons or groups of people whose evaluations of you *as a person* concern you the most." The students were instructed to describe relationships and not to use names. The results of this question contrast quite sharply with the responses from high school seniors. The African students again listed "parents" as most important, but in a high percentage of the cases (74.6 percent), while 69.5 percent of the Indians and 51.1 percent of the Coloureds indicated their parents. In contrast to White high school pupils these White students in 66.0 percent of the cases indicated that their parents' evaluation of them was not important. The second most important category of persons in all four ethnic groups was a linkage of "friend" and boy-girl friend." Only among the Coloured students did "relatives" seem of any importance and no other category approached "parents" or "friends" in importance.

Then we rephrased the question. It was posed in exactly the same way except that instead of asking about the evaluation of the respondent as a person we now wanted to know whose evaluation of them *as a student* they valued most highly. Three categories were selected with great frequency by all the students irrespective of their ethnic group. These are "parents," "friend," and "teacher." Table 38 shows the relative importance of these three selections and collapses most of the other categories which were separately listed on the questionnaire.

The only selection which really calls for discussion is the evaluation of the principal. The teachers training college at which these Coloured students were being trained is small and the faculty and principal know each student personally. It is to be expected that the latter's evaluation would count, more so since the principal at the time of this study was deeply interested in his students and dedicated to their preparation for life. The Indian students were also in a situation where the principal had a great deal of contact with them. While activists complained of racism and paternalism--the principal was White--his interest and influence is recognized here. Given the South African system in which, at the time of this study, most of the lecturers (i.e., persons in an academic authority position) were White, it is not strange to find African and Indian much more concerned about the teacher than the White students.

Table 38

Persons Whose Evaluations *As a Student* Are Valued by University Students

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Relationship	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Parents	49	25.5	2	9.7	75	30.7	72	39.0
Brother	5	2.6	1	4.9	9	3.7	2	1.1
Sister	2	1.0	1	4.9	2	0.8	1	0.5
Grandparents	2	1.0	1	4.9	1	0.4	0	0.0
Other Relatives	8	4.2	5	24.4	8	3.3	3	1.6
Friend	40	20.8	8	39.1	43	17.6	49	26.5
Boyfriend-Girlfriend	9	4.7	1	4.9	13	5.3	8	4.3
Principal	9	4.7	0	0.0	13	5.3	1	0.5
Teacher	45	23.4	0	0.0	57	23.4	25	13.5
Clergy	2	1.0	0	0.0	1	0.4	0	0.0
Classmates	8	4.2	0	0.0	10	4.1	6	3.2
School Staff/Prefects	3	1.6	0	0.0	6	2.5	0	0.0
Miscellaneous Adult	3	1.6	1	4.9	1	0.4	2	1.1
Own Children	1	0.5	1	2.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	6	3.1	0	0.0	1	0.4	11	6.0
Family	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	1.2	3	1.6
Spouse	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.4	1	0.5
Parental Peers	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.4	1	0.5
Total	192	99.9	21	99.9	244	99.9	185	99.9
No Response	10		26		6		17	

III.12. Attitudes of University and College Students

This discussion will focus on the major part of the questionnaire in which the students' attitudes were recorded regarding the drug itself, its effects, its legal position, and punitive steps recommended against users of cannabis.

The first question in this section asked the students for their reasons for not smoking cannabis if they had never tried it. Since there were a number of alternative answers, the students were verbally informed that they could select more than one response. The answers to this question appear in Table 39. We find here that a slightly lower percentage of persons simply brush aside the question by claiming disinterest. This is true for all the groups except the Whites.

Table 39

Primary Reason Given by Students for Not Trying Cannabis

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Reason	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Have Used	17	9.7	3	8.3	31	14.2	23	13.2
Not Interested	103	58.5	18	49.9	104	47.5	105	60.5
No Access	4	2.3	2	5.6	10	4.6	2	1.1
Parental Influence	22	12.5	6	16.7	28	12.8	19	10.9
Friends Influence	3	1.7	1	2.8	2	0.9	2	1.1
Legal Risks	4	2.3	1	2.8	5	2.3	3	1.7
Moral, Religious	2	1.1	2	5.6	19	8.7	10	5.7
Physical, Mental Risks	18	10.2	2	5.6	16	7.3	7	4.0
Other	3	1.7	1	2.8	4	1.8	3	1.7
Total	176	100.0	36	100.1	219	100.1	174	99.9
No Response	26		11		31		28	

A lack of interest, however, still is by far the major reason for not trying cannabis. Once again we find that parental influence is the second major reason but among the university and college students it emerges as a very clear second reason. As the third most important factor Africans mention the physical and mental risks taken by someone who experiments with drugs. For the Coloureds this is one of three reasons in third place. Both Indian and White students have avoided cannabis on the basis that it is contrary to their moral and religious values--something which only two African students mentioned and, as we know, cannabis use is traditional among some African peoples.

Table 40

Primary Reason Given by Students for Trying Cannabis

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Reason	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Never Used	103	69.6	28	66.7	142	64.5	136	73.5
Curiosity	22	14.9	6	14.3	35	15.9	24	13.0
Kicks	17	4.7	6	14.3	18	8.2	8	4.3
Escape	4	2.7	0	0.0	5	2.3	4	2.2
Social Pressure	4	2.7	1	2.4	2	0.9	1	0.5
Self Understanding	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	0.5	3	1.6
Intensify Perception	0	0.0	1	2.4	0	0.0	3	1.6
Relaxation	1	0.7	0	0.0	3	1.4	4	2.2
Boredom	5	3.4	0	0.0	2	0.9	0	0.0
Resistance	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	4.1	0	0.0
Other	1	0.7	0	0.0	3	1.4	2	1.1
Total	158	100.1	42	100.0	220	100.1	185	100.0
No Response	57		5		30		17	

Related to the former question, but aimed at those persons who have tried cannabis, we asked the students to indicate their main reasons for using the drug. The most frequently mentioned reason is "curiosity"--they just wanted to find out what it was like. Table 40 shows that this reason is almost equally distributed among the four ethnic groups. Closely related to the former reason, but more goal oriented is the alternative which suggests that the students did it for "kicks," to feel good or because they wanted to have a good time. The only other reason to which at least one person in every ethnic group responded is that it was used due to social pressure, because it was necessary to get along with people, or because it was the "in" thing to do. By comparison with the school pupils these responses are not very novel or strange. It would seem logical to suggest that the "curiosity" aspect applied to first or one time users while the other reasons explain repeated or continued use.

Each person has a mental image about a number of things which he can hardly confirm. Thus, we have such images about certain types of people, or people from certain places and in some cases it is possible to correlate these images with observed features or characteristics. We asked the university and college students to select from a number of possible characteristics those which they thought were typical of the average cannabis user. A majority of students in each category thought that they were not much different from people who do not use. But the students who thought this consisted of only 30.1 percent of the African as against 58.0 percent of the White students. We find then a very large number of African students who select a second major characteristic, that of cannabis users being morally degenerate, a characteristic which is also the second most frequently mentioned feature indicated by the White students. Both the Coloured and Indian students decided that the second most important characteristic was that cannabis users were in need of psychiatric help. This was also the third most frequently mentioned feature indicated by Africans. Equally as important in the evaluation of the African students is the perception that cannabis users are more sensitive and intelligent than the average person, a feature which also appears in third place among the White students.

We find in this evaluation a fluctuation as some students feel that the cannabis user is pretty much an average person. Some have positive evaluations while a majority have a negative evaluation of the person who uses this drug. It is interesting to compare these findings with those characterizations made by the high school seniors.

Table 41

Characteristics of the Average Cannabis User as Viewed by University and College Students

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Characteristic	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Same as Non-User	58	30.1	17	36.2	99	40.4	116	58.0
Sensitive-Intelligent	27	14.0	5	10.6	14	5.7	14	7.0
Poor Students	9	4.7	2	4.3	5	2.0	11	5.5
Lower Class	12	6.2	3	6.4	13	5.3	6	3.0
Morally Degenerate	40	20.7	6	12.8	38	15.5	19	9.5
Psychological Cases	27	14.0	10	21.3	45	18.4	7	3.5
Other	8	4.1	4	8.5	24	9.8	20	10.0
DK	12	6.2	0	0.0	7	2.9	7	3.5
Total	193	100.0	47	100.0	245	100.0	200	100.0
No Response	9		5				2	

The question which followed immediately on the characteristics of the user asked the students whether those who had used cannabis were more or less physically active than non-users. As was the case among the high school seniors, the White students saw the greatest contrast as 41.8 percent thought that cannabis users were physically inactive, passive types, while only 1.5 percent thought them to be physically active, sporting types. The majority, 56.7 percent of the White students saw users and non-users as much the same. Perhaps due to a prototype of farm workers, professional soccer players or jazz musicians, the African students were the only group in this sample who thought that cannabis smokers were physically active sporting types. In fact, 38.7 percent of the African students thought this to be the case as compared with 38.3 percent who thought they were not much different from people who do not use the drug, and 23.9 percent who thought they were physically inactive passive types. The Coloured and Indian students show almost identical patterns as a minority (27.6 percent and 23.0 percent, respectively) saw cannabis users as physically active and the rest of the students were almost exactly evenly divided between those who thought the drug's users to be physically inactive, or not much different from persons who do not smoke cannabis.

Since cannabis is an illegal drug and its use is generally discouraged by the older generation or those in positions of authority, the question arises concerning the attitude of students toward their fellow students who are known to use this drug. Our question asked what the subjects' reactions would be if they discovered that one of their very close friends had begun to use cannabis. As was the case among the high school seniors, 68.9 percent of the African, 76.6 percent of the Coloured, 71.5 percent of the Indian, and 58.1 percent of the White students said that they would try to persuade the friend to stop. We notice that while the relative position of the different ethnic groups is almost identical, all of the numbers are lower than among the school sample. This suggests a greater acceptance of either drug use per se, or a greater acceptance of individual freedom and the right of persons to do as they like. This is reflected in the fact that 37.4 percent of the White students, 22.5 percent of the Coloured, and 19.1 percent of the Indian students indicated that they would regard a person's use of this drug as having no bearing on their friendship. Only 16.3 percent of the African students felt this way while a relatively large number of them (11.2 percent) stated that they would discontinue their friendship with such a person. This is the only ethnic group indicating such a strong negative response.

Our next question touched on a much clearer evaluation, namely, whether the student would date a person whom he or she knew had tried cannabis. This puts the student in a very close personal relationship and one with potentially amorous implications. Once again the African students were the most conservative and negative, the White students the most liberal and permissive. Only 33.5 percent of the African students indicated that they would date a person they knew to have tried cannabis while 67.5 percent of the White students would date such a person. The Coloured (42.6 percent) and the Indian (39.8 percent) were between these two extremes. This contrast is evident again among those who would not date such a person, namely, 28.4 percent of the African and 9.5 percent of the White students. Again the Coloured (19.1 percent of the students) and the Indians (23.3 percent) are between these extremes but on the conservative side.

When we changed the question from referring to a person who "had tried dagga" to refer to one "whom you knew to be a regular dagga user," the responses also change quite drastically. The White students are still the most liberal with 24.8 percent indicating that they would date such a person, while 50.5 percent would not. The Indians now emerge as the most conservative as only 16.4 percent would date such a person while 62.8 percent would not. Very close to them are the Coloured students. The latter indicated that 14.9 percent would date a known cannabis user while 61.7 percent would not. Among the Africans 17.2 percent would date such a person while 59.1 percent would not. There are, in this latter category, four persons who did not know or who indicated that they were not sure what their reaction would be to such a situation. Only the Whites were consistent in this regard as almost the same number of persons selected this response in both questions, namely, dating a person who had tried in contrast to dating a person who used cannabis.

The two preceding questions pertained to the very personal relationship of dating a person associated with drugs. The next one was slightly more impersonal: we asked whether the respondent would support a known drug user's application to join a social club provided, of course, such a person were acceptable in all other respects. Here the previous pattern re-emerges as the Whites are the least affected by a person's personal habits, while the African students show the greatest concern. Only 10.9 percent of the White, 19.1 percent of the Coloured, and 23.3 percent of the Indian students indicated that they would not support a known drug user, while 35.4 percent of the African students said they would not. Conversely, 71.3 percent of the White students would support a person who used cannabis while 44.4 percent of the Africans would. Once again the Indians (53.4 percent) and Coloureds (55.3 percent) show some reserve but not as much as their African contemporaries. As was the case regarding dating, a relatively large number of persons said that they were not sure what their reaction would be if they were confronted with such a situation.

Looking beyond the personal relationships, we were interested in the attitudes of persons regarding the implications of smoking cannabis. What did they think the implications might be for a person who tried this drug. The students were asked to indicate the risk taken by anyone who uses cannabis, and were told that they could select more than one answer. Table 42 reflects the risks the students think a person takes when he experiments or uses this drug.

Table 42

Risks Taken by Persons Smoking Cannabis as Seen by University and College Students

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Risk	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Damage to Health	108	55.1	29	61.7	55	35.0	112	55.5
Physical Dependence	11	5.6	3	6.4	19	12.0	12	6.0
Psychological Dependence	29	14.8	5	10.6	25	16.0	34	16.7
Legal Sanctions	16	8.2	3	6.4	5	3.0	19	9.4
Addiction	27	13.8	6	12.8	40	25.0	6	3.0
Escalation	3	1.5	1	2.1	5	3.0	17	8.4
DK	2	1.0	0	0.0	9	6.0	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.0	2	1.0
Total	196	100.0	47	100.0	159	100.0	202	100.0
No Response	6							

The greatest majority, but not as many as among the school pupils, felt that a person who uses cannabis is endangering his health. The second most frequently mentioned risk, particularly by the Whites and the Africans, is that of psychological dependence. Addiction is a factor rated highly by all the students except the Whites.

Among those students exercising the option of naming more than one risk, we find that the Africans (29.3 percent), the Indians (33.5 percent), and the Coloureds (50.0 percent) feel that physical dependence is a major hazard. This alternative is indicated by 31.2 percent of the White students. The latter, however, selected psychological dependence as a greater danger in this second series of risks. Psychological dependence emerges as the second choice of the other three ethnic groups.

There were two questions which dealt with the legal position of cannabis and the attitude of the student about this position. The first asks the students to indicate what level of legal control they feel to be necessary for cannabis. As was the case among the high school seniors a plurality of students feel that cannabis use should not be legalized and that penalties should remain the same as at present. This was, by a very slim margin, the second choice of both White and African students. The former favored the reduction of penalties while the African students favored the legalization of cannabis in experimental and research situations. The results of this question appear in Table 43. Very few persons exercised a second choice but the few selections that were made simply confirmed the picture which emerges from the table.

The second question dealing with the action asks the following: "If a person is found guilty for using dagga only, do you think such a person should be . . ." which is followed by a number of alternative choices. The results of this question are tabulated in Table 44.

The most popular alternative was that such a person be "made to report regularly to a rehabilitation center." This was selected first by the majority of students in each ethnic

Table 43

Appropriate Legal Control for Cannabis Use as Seen by University and College Students

Legal Control	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
No Legal Controls	28	14.7	5	10.6	29	11.8	20	10.1
Legal if Over 21	79	9.9	3	6.4	20	8.1	25	12.6
Legal-Experiment Research	53	27.7	16	34.0	71	28.9	45	22.6
Reduced Penalties	31	16.2	4	8.5	39	15.9	52	26.1
Same Penalties	51	26.7	19	40.4	84	34.1	51	25.6
OK for Non-White	4	2.1	0	0.0	2	0.8	2	1.0
OK for Africans	5	2.6	0	0.0	1	0.4	4	2.0
DK	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	251	99.9	47	99.9	246	100.0	199	100.0
No Response	11		0		4		3	

Table 44

Appropriate Punishment for Person Found Guilty of Cannabis Use According to University and College Students

Punishment	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Sent to Jail	40	20.7	6	12.8	12	4.9	11	5.6
Physically Punished	14	7.3	3	6.4	8	3.2	6	3.1
Fined	24	12.4	6	12.8	23	9.3	35	17.9
Rehabilitated	62	32.1	24	51.1	140	56.7	75	38.3
Warned and Released	36	18.7	5	10.6	54	21.9	46	23.5
Other	14	7.3	3	6.4	10	4.0	23	11.7
DK	1	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Nothing	2	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	193	100.0	47	100.1	247	100.0	196	100.1
No Response	9		0		3		6	

group. This then is similar to the choices of most high school seniors, but the African high school pupils preferred that culprits be warned and released. This latter choice emerges as the second most common selection among Indian and White students. The Coloureds, however, feel that persons found guilty of cannabis use should either be sent to jail or made to pay a fine, and the African students also feel that jailing is an appropriate punishment.

This section concludes the part of the questionnaire dealing with cannabis. As a final section we asked these students about other drugs.

III.13. Other Drugs

The student surveys referred to at the start of this section suggested that university students not only use cannabis but that significant numbers also use other drugs. The report on the University of Cape Town survey is said to have shown that ten percent had used LSD, 21 percent amphetamines, ten percent barbiturates, and five percent heroin (*Die Transvaler*, August 11, 1973). Unfortunately, the survey of University of Natal students, reported in *Dome* does not include anything more specific than "pep pills and sedatives." Herr and Morley (1972:1404) did include specific questions in their survey. Their findings show that "174 (92.1 percent) had tried dagga, 32 (16.1 percent) amphetamines, 21 (11.1 percent) glue, 18 (9.5 percent), hallucinogens (e.g., LSD, Mescaline), 12 (6.3 percent) barbiturates, 11 (5.8 percent) opium. . . . Of the 189 who had taken drugs, 111 (63.3 percent) had taken dagga only." These figures all pertain to a questionnaire completed by 788 undergraduate students. We should thus keep in mind that the 11 persons who used opium are 5.8 percent of the 189 persons who have used illicit drugs rather than of the 788 students who completed the survey. If we place them in the total sample we find that they are really only 1.5 percent of the students surveyed.

Our own study included tobacco and alcohol and of course covered the four major ethnic groups recognized by South African law. We will discuss each drug type separately and where applicable contrast it with the findings for the high school seniors already discussed.

Tobacco. Hardly recognized as a drug by the common smoker, cigarettes and pipes are freely used--partly in response to a vigorous advertising campaign. We were once told by a White student that a real man "smokes cigarettes, has hair on his chest, and drinks his pint-a-day." It is then not strange to find that the Whites have the highest percentage of smokers. The results of our questionnaire show that 41.7 percent of the African, 60.6 percent of the Indian, 65.0 percent of the Coloured, and 71.7 percent of the White students have smoked tobacco. All of the figures are higher than for high school seniors. This same increase is evident in the number of students who smoke on a regular basis. Once again the Whites, with 44.0 percent, are ahead while the Coloured (37.5 percent), Indian (35.6 percent), and African (27.4 percent) all show significant increases.

One might venture to suggest that this is about the peak period for smoking tobacco. It is a status symbol which many no longer need as they mature or reach higher levels of education. It is also a symbol of independence and this expression reaches its peak when children leave home and start out on their own in a dorm, university, part-time job and similar situations.

Alcohol. As was the case in earlier sections of this study, we differentiated here between "alcohol" (explaining that we meant beer and wine) and "spirits" (explaining that we referred to beverages such as whisky, gin, vodka, etc.). This distinction was made partly on the basis of alcohol content.

In response to this question we find a very clear distinction between Whites and Coloureds as against Indians and Africans. Again we should keep in mind that the religious and ethical prescriptions of Indians forbid the use of alcohol. Table 45 illustrates this very clearly.

This is the second symbol of manhood, and independence, among White youths. Most of them smoke a cigarette and drink their beer. The Coloured students seem to be much more in an experimental stage with few who have not tried it but relatively few who drink on a regular basis.

Table 45

Number of Times Students Have Used Alcohol
(Beer and Wine)

Frequency of Use	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Never	93	52.0	8	19.5	116	50.9	14	7.1
1 - 2 Times	24	13.4	8	19.5	47	20.6	11	5.6
3 - 5 Times	12	6.7	6	14.6	9	3.9	7	3.6
6 - 9 Times	8	4.5	3	7.3	7	3.1	5	2.6
10+ Times	40	22.3	14	34.1	48	21.1	158	80.6
Used.NFI	2	1.1	2	4.9	1	0.4	1	0.5
Total	179	100.0	41	99.9	228	100.0	196	100.0
No Response	23		6		22		6	

Spirits. The picture which emerges for the use of spirits is basically the same. Again we have a relatively low percentage of Whites (and Coloureds) who have not tried one of the alcoholic beverages of high potency. Relative to Indians and Africans a much higher percentage of Whites (and Coloureds) have used liquor more than ten times.

The totals which appear in Table 46 below compare very well with those which applied to high school pupils.

Amphetamines. When we move from the common and legal drugs into other preparations, the percentage of persons who have tried them drops significantly.

Tabulation of the number of persons who have tried amphetamines is 10.6 percent of the White students, 8.8 percent of the Coloureds, 6.8 percent of the Indians, and only 3.6 percent of the Africans. Most of these persons, however, are what Cheek and his associates (1973:15) call "tasters" rather than "users." Only one person among the Coloureds (2.9 percent)

Table 46

Frequency of Use of Spirits by University and College Students

Frequency of Use	African Number	African Per Cent	Coloured Number	Coloured Per Cent	Indian Number	Indian Per Cent	White Number	White Per Cent
Never	118	67.4	13	35.1	145	64.7	38	19.9
1 - 2 Times	18	10.3	7	18.9	27	12.1	28	14.7
3 - 5 Times	4	2.3	2	5.4	7	3.1	10	5.2
6 - 9 Times	6	3.4	3	8.1	5	2.2	15	7.9
10+ Times	28	16.0	12	32.4	39	17.4	[illegible]	51.8
Use Ind. NFI	1	0.6	0	0.0	1	0.4	[illegible]	0.5
Total	175	100.0	37	99.9	224	99.9	191	100.0
No Response	27		10		26		11	

has used amphetamines more than once or twice. Only one person among the Indians (0.5 percent) and three persons among the Whites (1.8 percent) have used amphetamines ten times or more.

Among the White students six (that is 3.6 percent) have used amphetamines more than once or twice. This figure compares well with the findings by Herr and Morley (1972:1404) that 4.1 percent of their sample had tried, and 3.1 percent of their sample had used amphetamines more than once. However, they list and count methedrine separately while we included it with amphetamines and our totals could thus in fact be even closer. Both of these are a long way from the purported incidence of amphetamine use among the University of Cape Town students.

Barbiturates. In posing this question we used a number of common referents in parentheses. This clarified the question and students knew what variable they were dealing with.

The numbers who have used or are using drugs in this category are even fewer than those discussed to this point. Among the White students 6.5 percent have used barbiturates, while 5.9 percent of the Indians and only three percent of the Coloureds and 1.8 percent of the Africans have used them. Once again the greater number of students who have used appear in the "once or twice" category; one African (0.6 percent), two Indian (1.0 percent), and two White (1.2 percent) students have used these drugs more than five times.

By comparison Herr and Morley suggest that in their sample 1.5 percent had tried barbiturates, and 1.1 percent had used the drug more than once. The Cape Town survey to which we referred earlier in this section had suggested that ten percent of those students had used barbiturates.

Hallucinogens. While nature provides a wealth of hallucinogens, South Africans on the whole do not use these mind altering substances. The best known and perhaps most frequently used drug in this category is the preparation commonly known as LSD.

From our total student numbers only two Africans (1.2 percent) and two Coloureds (5.8 percent) have used hallucinogens. Among the Indian and White students the totals are slightly higher. Seven Indians (3.5 percent) and eight Whites (4.8 percent) indicated that they had tried hallucinogens but only one White (0.6 percent) and two Indians (1.0 percent) had used this more than five times. Herr and Morley (1972:1404) reported that 2.3 percent of their sample had tried hallucinogens while 1.9 percent had used the drugs more than once. Once again our figures are slightly higher than those referred to above but below the ten percent suggested for Cape Town students by the article referred to earlier.

Whiffers. In the section pertaining to high school pupils it was mentioned that the sniffing or inhaling of various gases and fumes was more commonly associated with younger persons and children. It is also more common among Africans, perhaps due to low cost.

Table 47 reflects the frequency with which inhalants are used among university and college students in Natal. We find again that Africans and Coloureds have the highest incidence of use, while the Indian students are very close in their intensity of use. The numbers are, of course, misleading for only six Coloureds represent the highest percentage.

Table 47

Frequency of the Use of Inhalants by Students

Frequency of Use	African Number	African Per Cent	Coloured Number	Coloured Per Cent	Indian Number	Indian Per Cent	White Number	White Per Cent
Never	149	87.1	28	82.5	80	87.4	163	94.7
1 - 2 Times	12	7.0	3	8.8	19	7.3	5	2.9
3 - 5 Times	4	2.3	1	2.9	3	1.5	2	1.2
6 - 9 Times	3	1.8	1	2.9	4	1.9	0	0.0
10+ Times	3	1.8	1	2.9	4	1.9	2	1.2
Total	171	100.0	34	100.0	110	100.0	172	100.0
No Response	31		13		44		30	

The White university students have a relatively low intensity of inhalant use. Herr and Morley, the study referred to above, found that 2.6 percent of their sample had used inhalants--they use the single referent of "glue sniffing"--while 1.9 percent had used these more than once. Our figures show 2.9 percent tried this form of consciousness altering while a further 2.4 percent used it more than twice.

Heroin. The picture with regard to the so-called "hard drugs" is almost the same as it was for the high school seniors. Not a single Coloured student had tried heroin while only one White had tried it. Two Africans had used it a couple of times and the same applied to two Indians.

This one White student (constituting 0.6 percent of the White sample) who had only tried heroin once compares well with Herr and Morley's findings that in their sample three students (0.4 percent of their sample) had tried heroin and another three (0.4 percent) had used it more than once. Once again our findings are far below the 5.0 percent reported for the University of Cape Town and referred to at the beginning of this section.

Opium. Perhaps due to the method of use, or administering the drug, this example of a "hard drug" is more commonly used. This was true in the previous survey, among our high school sample and in the case of university and college students.

Not a single Coloured has used opium but the other ethnic groups have various levels of use. Among the Africans 3.0 percent have used but few students (2.4 percent) claim to have used it more than ten times. The figures for the Indian students show nine (4.4 percent) users of whom one (0.5 percent) has used more than ten times.

Among the White students there are six (3.5 percent) who have used opium once or twice, while only one (0.6 percent) has used it more than ten times. As was the case in previous drug use patterns, our figures compare well with the other studies. Herr and Morley recorded that 1.4 percent of their sample had used opium once, while a further 1.3 percent had used it more than once.

Since we were dealing with attitudes rather than only a history of drug use, we included a last question which dealt with intention. The last question asked: "Which of the following substances that you have not used would you be willing to try if you had the chance?" The question then gets at the difference between religious or moral reasons for not using drugs versus persons who simply do not have access to such substances.

Rather than present each of these separately as we did with the pattern of drug use, it will be easier simply to refer to Table 48. Not included in the table is the response as regards tobacco. Among the Africans 15.1 percent plan to smoke as do 10.1 percent of the Indians and 10.0 percent of the Coloureds. Among the Whites it would seem most persons who are interested in smoking and drinking already do it, while those who have some scruples about it do not plan to change. This is true for tobacco use, as well as drinking beer, wine and liquor. In fact this pattern held fairly constant throughout this section. There are about 90.0 percent of the White students who have reasons for not using drugs and they do not plan to change. This is true for hallucinogenic preparations, heroin, opium, and inhalants. The figure of abstainers is somewhat lower for amphetamines and barbiturates, and significantly lower for the "White man's drug"--alcoholic beverages.

Among the Indians we have about 75.0 percent of the student population who have not experimented nor do they plan to experiment. These are persons who have religious and moral reasons for not using drugs. Once again the alcohol and liquor figures are lower.

The figures for Coloured students who do not plan to use drugs fluctuate a little but most of them are around 80.0 percent. The figures for alcoholic beverages are low and approximate those of the White students.

While there is more fluctuation among the African students, about 90.0 percent do not plan to use amphetamines or barbiturates, about 85.0 percent feel the same way about other hard drugs. Opium seems to have some attraction as this is the drug most of them plan to experiment with.

Table 48

Future Plans of Students to Experiment with Drugs

	Africans	Coloureds	Indians	Whites
Alcohol:				
Have Used	47.4	71.1	52.0	89.1
Yes	16.0	7.9	8.0	0.5
No	36.6	21.1	40.0	10.4
Spirits:				
Have Used	33.7	57.6	40.8	78.0
Yes	7.4	3.0	7.1	0.5
No	58.9	39.4	52.2	21.4
Amphetamines:				
Have Used	3.3	7.4	8.2	14.7
Yes	6.0	7.4	15.1	6.9
No	90.7	85.2	76.7	78.4
Barbiturates:				
Have Used	2.6	3.7	7.7	7.9
Yes	6.0	18.5	17.4	7.0
No	91.4	77.8	74.8	85.1
Hallucinogens:				
Have Used	2.0	6.9	5.1	5.4
Yes	10.6	20.7	19.6	5.4
No	87.4	72.4	75.3	89.2
Whiffers:				
Have Used	12.9	18.5	12.7	7.5
Yes	3.9	0.0	13.9	2.8
No	83.2	81.5	73.4	89.7
Heroin:				
Have Used	1.3	0.0	1.3	0.0
Yes	11.3	19.2	24.2	7.3
No	87.4	80.8	74.5	92.7
Opium:				
Have Used	3.1	0.0	4.7	4.6
Yes	20.0	11.5	26.9	4.6
No	76.2	88.5	68.4	90.8

IV. THE CONTEXT OF CANNABIS USE

Rather than simply summarize some of the more salient facts to emerge from this study, I will discuss three major topics here. These are: the familial background of the students, their social and religious involvement, and finally the influence of the peer group and their attitudes.* In contrast with the earlier presentation, this discussion will clearly differentiate between *users* and *non-users* who have not and do not smoke cannabis.

a. Parental drug use: Two questions we asked our student subjects, as will be recalled from II.11, and III.11 in our previous discussion, related to the use of alcohol and cannabis by their mothers and fathers. Here we touched on a subject which has ethnic connotations. While cannabis had certain religious and ritual uses in traditional Indian (particularly Hindu) society, the use of alcohol was not sanctioned. This applies particularly to women. While among the Africans Xhosa women smoked, Zulu did not and while African women could use the mildly alcoholic but highly nutrituous traditional brews they were not expected to use alcoholic beverages. Whites used alcohol in social and domestic contexts and smoked tobacco, with increasing numbers of women doing this, but to smoke cannabis was almost unthinkable. It was seen as a despicable practice associated with the "primitive" African and one that was highly dangerous resulting in detrimental conditions associated with altered consciousness and resulting in dependence.

Obviously many young people today do not share the views of their elders and it was in this context that we asked students whether their parents used alcohol. Since the overall pictures for the question regarding father's use of alcohol and mother's use of alcohol are roughly the same, we will here discuss only the latter. Table 49 shows the responses to varying frequencies

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*Much of the information in this section is to appear in du Toit (1978a).

TABLE 49

Does Mother Use Alcohol? [University]

	AFRICAN		COLOURED		INDIAN		WHITE	
Alcohol Use	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user
Not at all	30 (78.9)	120 (89.6)	8 (66.7)	22 (66.7)	59 (90.3)	157 (94.0)	6 (13.6)	38 (25.3)
Occasionally/Social drinker	7 (18.5)	11 (8.3)	4 (33.3)	8 (24.2)	5 (8.1)	9 (5.4)	30 (68.2)	90 (60.0)
Considerably/Social drinker	0 (0.0)	1 (0.7)	0 (0.0)	2 (6.1)	1 (1.6)	1 (0.6)	2 (4.5)	8 (5.3)
Regular User	1 (2.6)	1 (0.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (11.4)	13 (8.7)
Problem drinker	0 (0.0)	1 (0.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0) 0.0)	1 (2.3)	1 (0.7)
TOTAL	38 (100.0)	134 (100.0)	12 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	62 (100.0)	167 (100.0)	44 (100.0)	150 (100.0)

of alcohol use by the mothers of students who use cannabis (indicated as "user") versus persons who have never used cannabis (indicated as "non-user"). The first and expected contrast is simply the frequency of alcohol use among White women as compared with the other ethnic groups and in particular the Indian ethnic group. The contrast between cannabis using versus non-using students is also clearest among the Whites where women who do not use alcohol appear as mothers of 25.3 percent of students who do not use cannabis versus only 13.6 percent of students who do smoke the drug. Though the frequency is different, somewhat the same ratio appears in the figures for African students. Once again mothers who do not drink at all appear more frequently with children who do not use cannabis.

When we turn to the question of cannabis use by father (Table 50) and mother (Table 51), we find a large number of persons who indicated that they did not know whether their parents smoked cannabis. This is particularly true among the African Students. Cannabis use has a long tradition in African society in addition to particular ritual and curative uses. Adult males in these societies used to smoke the waterpipe in the late afternoon much as their contemporaries who were White enjoyed a beer or some other drink. Since government intervention, cannabis smoking has been carried on covertly and frequently where even the wife of a user is oblivious to his drug habit. For these reasons, and due to the history of the drugs use, we find that Africans frequently do not know whether their parents smoke cannabis. There also is not necessarily a relationship between parental use and the use by a student. Coloured women show up much more clearly as non-users than their husbands about whom there is some doubt in 33.6 percent of the cases. When we look at the Indians and the Whites we find first of all the highest incidence of known parental cannabis use but also a direct correlation between parental use and the use of cannabis by the student.

b. Social and religious organizations: Commenting on their

TABLE 50

Does Father Smoke Cannabis? [University]

	AFRICAN		COLOURED		INDIAN		WHITE	
Cannabis Use	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user
Yes	1 (2.3)	6 (4.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (7.7)	5 (2.8)	4 (8.3)	1 (0.7)
No	29 (65.9)	117 (78.5)	11 (84.6)	27 (81.8)	56 (86.1)	163 (91.1)	37 (77.1)	133 (90.4)
Don't Know	14 (31.8)	25 (16.8)	2 (15.4)	6 (18.2)	4 (6.2)	11 (6.1)	6 (12.5)	7 (4.8)
N. A.	0 (0.0)	1 (0.7)					1 (2.1)	6 (4.1)
TOTAL	44 (100.0)	149 (100.0)	13 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	65 (100.0)	179 (100.0)	48 (100.0)	147 (100.0)

TABLE 51

Does Mother Smoke Cannabis? [University]

	AFRICAN		COLOURED		INDIAN		WHITE	
Cannabis Use	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user
Yes	0 (0.0)	2 (1.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.6)	1 (0.6)	2 (4.2)	1 (0.7)
No	37 (88.1)	120 (88.9)	12 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	60 (95.2)	175 (97.7)	43 (89.5)	141 (94.0)
Don't Know	5 (11.9)	13 (9.6)	0 -	0 -	2 (3.2)	3 (1.7)	3 (6.3)	8 (5.3)
TOTAL	42 (100.0)	135 (100.0)	12 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	63 (100.0)	179 (100.0)	48 (100.0)	150 (100.0)

findings at a private Northeastern seaboard college, Cheek and his associates (1973:335) state that among the users of cannabis is "the majority were actively involved in extracurricular organized activities - social clubs and so forth . . . ." This agrees with our findings for South African students with the exception of the African university students. We find then that 44.7 percent of the users versus 65.6 percent of the non-users belong to social clubs. Among Coloureds the picture is almost the opposite as 64.3 percent of the users but only 40.6 percent of the non-users belong. The same is true for the Indians, but here only 46.3 percent of the users and 32.0 percent of the non-users claim to be members of social clubs. While the Whites are the least involved in organized and structured social interaction, partly due to the fact that they attend an urban university and few of them live on campus, the same relative position is found. A mere 38.2 percent of users and 27.5 percent of non-users belong to social clubs.

Turning to participation in religious activities we again notice a clear pattern influenced in part by ethnic group membership and in part by the fact that Indian religions allow many of the rituals to take place in the home. Our question which asked about attendance at religious worship services may thus not truly reflect religious activity. As far as the overall picture is concerned, however, we find a clear contrast between those who use cannabis versus those who do not. Among the African high school seniors 32.5 percent of those who use the drug never go to religious services while only 8.0 percent of those who do not use do not attend. Among the African university freshmen 21.3 percent of the users do not attend while only 5.2 percent of those who do not smoke the drug do not attend services. This same picture emerges from the Coloured material but the totals are small and the 27.3 percent who use and do not attend therefore are not as significant when contrasted with the 2.6 percent who do not use cannabis and do not attend.

Even among the Indian university freshmen we find that only 37.1 percent of the users attend regularly. Conversely, while 22.6 percent of the users never attend religious services only 12.9 percent of non-users never attend.

As is the case in some of the other cases on inquiry, the White students stand out as extremes. In this case they are the least religious or at least they have the lowest attendance rate at religious services. Among the high school seniors 26.8 percent of the cannabis users attend regularly while 38.0 percent stated that they never attend. This compares with 39.1 percent and 23.8 percent respectively for the non-users. Looking at the university students only 17.4 percent of the users attend religious services regularly while 63.0 percent claim that they never attend. Among the non-users the figures are respectively 25.8 and 32.5 percent.

c. Peer group importance: We next turned our attention to the importance of the peer group and interaction between users and non-users. One way of ascertaining the attitudes non-users had concerning users as well as the closeness of interaction, is to ask persons about dating patterns. As will be recalled from our earlier discussion in II.12. and III.12. above, we presented the sample with two questions: "Would you date a person who had tried cannabis?", and "Would you date a regular cannabis user?". Tables 52 and 53 respectively reflect the responses of the high school seniors in our sample to these two questions. Among all four ethnic groups a majority of students who used cannabis stated that they would date a person known to have used the drug but those figures decline dramatically when asked whether they would date a regular cannabis smoker. The decline is slightest among African students but it should be noticed that they are the smallest percentage of the four ethnic groups who would date someone who had experimented with the drug. When we look at the non-using category in these two tables the Africans once again are the lowest in persons willing to date the drug experimenter and they show the smallest decline as regards dating the regular

TABLE 52

Would you date a person who had tried cannabis? [High School]

	AFRICAN		COLOURED		INDIAN		WHITE	
Response	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user
Yes	16 (43.3)	26 (14.1)	7 (63.6)	25 (32.5)	33 (49.2)	54 (20.2)	62 (88.6)	180 (43.2)
No	11 (29.7)	96 (52.2)	0 (0.0)	20 (26.0)	16 (23.9)	116 (43.5)	3 (4.3)	99 (23.7)
Not Sure	10 (27.0)	62 (33.7)	4 (36.4)	32 (41.5)	18 (26.9)	97 (36.3)	5 (7.1)	138 (33.1)
TOTAL	37 (100.0)	184 (100.0)	11 (100.0)	77 (100.0)	67 (100.0)	267 (100.0)	70 (100.0)	417 (100.0)

TABLE 53

Would you date a regular cannabis user? [High School]

	AFRICAN		COLOURED		INDIAN		WHITE	
Response	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user
Yes	14 (36.8)	25 (13.5)	1 (9.1)	9 (11.5)	15 (22.7)	22 (8.2)	36 (50.7)	53 (12.5)
No	9 (23.7)	114 (61.6)	6 (54.5)	62 (79.5)	41 (62.1)	208 (77.9)	22 (31.0)	286 (67.5)
Not Sure	15 (39.5)	46 (24.9)	4 (36.4)	7 (9.0)	10 (15.2)	37 (13.9)	13 (18.3)	85 (20.0)
TOTAL	38 (100.0)	185 (100.0)	11 (100.0)	78 (100.0)	66 (100.0)	267 (100.0)	71 (100.0)	424 (100.0)

among non-users in each case is about two thirds. E.g. while 43.2 percent of the White students who do not use cannabis would be willing to date a person who had tried the drug, only 12.5 percent of these same non-users were willing to date a regular drug user.

Perhaps as significant as these latter figures is the fact that when asked about dating a person who had tried cannabis, *non-users* constituted the largest percentage in the "not sure" category. When the question pertained to regular drug users the *users* showed a great increase to become the largest constituent category of those who were "not sure".

In a study conducted at a U.S. Midwest college (Grupp, McCain and Schmitt 1971) it was found that 95 percent of the users and 64 percent of the non-users would be willing to date a person who had experimented with cannabis. Willingness to date a regular user of the drug declined to 61 percent of the users and 15 percent of the non-users. The figures, while in each case higher, most closely approximate the responses of the White students in our sample. But the ethnic patterns of use and attitudes regarding use by others suggest further significance. We find among White (and Coloured) students a distinct peer orientation in contrast to the clear family orientation among African (and Indian) students. While the latter two ethnic categories recognize the importance of the family and authority figures such as teachers, the former two, and particularly the Whites, are more interested in age mates and friends. In part it seems that the use of this drug in particular has become a symbol both of individual freedom and of resistance to authority among Whites.

d. Friendship networks: To pursue the topic of the social network of drug users we inquired about the best friends of our student subjects. Winick (1965) has emphasized the smoking of cannabis as a social activity and the importance of sharing this with other young people, while Bruce Johnson (1973) has

We asked both the high school and the college samples how many of their best friends at home had smoked cannabis. Once again it is important to keep in mind that there is a major difference in discipline and expectation regarding persons in high school and tertiary education. It should also be kept in mind that there are more than likely a larger percentage of students during the beginning or middle years of high school who smoke cannabis than during the final or senior year. Many of the drug users leave school after Standard Eight (i.e. the tenth grade) going into technical colleges for practical job training or enter the labor market. Those who stay on for the two senior years of high school are persons oriented toward furthering their education and would tend to be persons who do not use drugs. At the university level one would expect to find the same trend, i.e. a decrease in the number of students who complete their education and a decrease in the number who use drugs. These two samples could thus very well represent the smallest number of persons at the high school level and the largest number of students at the college level who are users of cannabis.

Turning our attention first to the high school pupils (see Table 54) we find that cannabis users among any of the ethnic groups are more likely, by far, to have drug using friends than is the case for non-using persons. For instance, slightly over one percent of non-users have three close friends who smoke the drug while this figure rises to between eighteen and 34 percent for users.

When we turn our attention to the university level students (see Table 55), the picture changes radically as users are much less likely to associate with other drug users while the percentages for non-users are about the same. The picture for Whites is an exception here as high school and university students show the same tendency of association, both for users and non-users.

Looking at the other end of the scale we find that almost the same percentages of non-using students within each ethnic group claim to have no drug using friends. Thus 84.6 percent of the high school and 85.8 percent of the university students among the Indians claim no close association with cannabis smokers. In three of the four ethnic groups in fact a slightly higher percentage at university level claim no such association. Among the users, however, we notice an increase from high school to university among users who claim no close association with other drug users. This is true for all the ethnic groups except the Whites. Among the latter seven percent fewer users at the university level claim no close associate who smokes cannabis as compared with White high school seniors.

An interesting similarity emerged in Tables 18 and 19 in which Afrikaans-speaking Whites most closely approximated African high school seniors. This applies both to trying to persuade friends to stop drug use and to reserve in terms of supporting persons who use drugs. The Afrikaners' attitudes are most likely the result of a traditional Calvinist based philosophy, a strong family orientation, and a fear of the stigma resulting from police confrontation. Among the Africans it is almost certainly related to the fear of arrest and consciousness of having to get ahead. Education, good standing, and the absence of a police record are prerequisites for an African to "overcome" his skin pigmentation and to get a decent job. The use of the word "overcome" in the previous section is made with reference to the White authority structure in South Africa and in full recognition of Black consciousness movements which were giving Africans a new unity. The latter, however, were more expressed in the Soweto area and at the university level.

e. Summary: What we see here is a composite of associational factors in which peer group, social group networks, religiosity and parental influence all interact. As Bruce Johnson has pointed out: "the strong relationship between religiosity and cannabis use exists mainly because less religious persons become involved in peer groups where cannabis is used and hence use the drug themselves" (1973:61).

TABLE 54

How many of your best friends at home have smoked cannabis? [High school]

	AFRICAN		COLOURED		INDIAN		WHITE	
Number of friends	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user
None	10 (25.6)	135 (71.8)	2 (18.2)	61 (78.2)	26 (39.4)	225 (84.6)	17 (23.9)	316 (74.5)
One	6 (15.4)	16 (8.5)	2 (18.2)	11 (14.1)	13 (19.7)	19 (7.1)	13 (18.3)	58 (13.7)
Two	2 (5.1)	9 (4.8)	3 (27.2)	2 (2.6)	8 (12.1)	6 (2.3)	13 (18.3)	22 (5.2)
Three	9 (23.1)	3 (1.6)	2 (18.2)	1 (1.3)	15 (22.7)	3 (1.1)	24 (33.9)	5 (1.2)
Don't Know	12 (30.8)	25 (13.3)	2 (18.2)	3 (3.8)	4 (6.1)	13 (4.9)	4 (5.6)	23 (5.4)
TOTAL	39 (100.0)	188 (100.0)	11 (100.0)	78 (100.0)	66 (100.0)	266 (100.0)	71 (100.0)	424 (100.0)

TABLE 55

How many of your best friends at home have smoked cannabis? [University]

	AFRICAN		COLOURED		INDIAN		WHITE	
Number of friends	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user	User	Non-user
None	19 (42.2)	117 (76.5)	3 (21.4)	25 (75.7)	39 (59.1)	157 (85.8)	11 (22.9)	116 (76.8)
One	7 (15.6)	7 (4.6)	5 (35.8)	3 (9.1)	11 (16.7)	11 (6.0)	10 (20.8)	17 (11.3)
Two	5 (11.1)	6 (3.9)	4 (28.6)	2 (6.1)	8 (12.1)	2 (1.1)	7 (14.6)	8 (5.3)
Three	5 (11.1)	3 (2.0)	1 (7.1)	1 (3.0)	6 (9.1)	2 (1.1)	15 (31.3)	3 (2.0)
Don't Know	9 (20.0)	20 (13.1)	1 (7.1)	2 (6.1)	2 (3.0)	11 (6.0)	5 (10.4)	7 (4.6)
TOTAL	45 (100.0)	153 (100.0)	14 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	66 (100.0)	183 (100.0)	48 (100.0)	151 (100.0)

Future research should follow through on this study by comparing different levels of education at different times. Only then can a meaningful statement of a longitudinal nature be made.

V. OVERVIEW AND SUMMARY

Two facts which need to be restated here are that this study deals primarily with urban pupils and students and that cannabis in South Africa is almost exclusively smoked. Any concentration on a rural sample will find even greater emphasis on smoking and should find less use of other drugs excluding alcohol.

Historical evidence suggests that *cannabis sativa* has been smoked for at least six centuries in Africa and we can presume that the ancestors of the Zulu used the drug in the same way. While the ancestors of the Indian students took cannabis in liquid form or mixed it with sweet meats (and even formed a product consisting of cannabis and opium) it is clear that shortly after their arrival in Natal they adopted the method of smoking practiced by the indigenous African population. This involved local adaptations of the water pipe or hubble-bubble pipe in which the water container consisted of a dried gourd, an antelope horn or some other object which would contain water through which the smoke could be passed.

Older Africans in both rural and urban areas still prefer the traditional horn water-pipe but it is clumsy, and easy to detect during a police raid. Numerous varieties of water-pipes have been innovated and the sources of construction materials border on the ingenious. Varieties of construction bricks, metal pipes, milk bottles, coconut shells, broken bottle necks and pop cans have been used in an attempt to imitate the old traditional pipe. But I would suggest there was more involved than simply conscious imitation of form; the process of drawing the smoke through water and thus cooling it down was an added reason, being imitative and innovative at the same time.

Younger Africans, and especially those in urban areas where police informers, plain clothed policemen, and police raids are always a possibility, have dispensed with the cumbersome and incriminating pipe and use a variety of cigar or cigarette forms to smoke cannabis. In many cases a person might use a regular tobacco smoking pipe or a clay chillum pipe and fill it with pure or mixed cannabis. But these new conditions, and especially the fear aspect, have not only influenced the mechanism for smoking but also the method of smoking. Absent from the city or town situation is the leisurely "sun-downer" partly because those who work seldom get home before dark and because of the heterogeneous settlement pattern in which a neighbor might be a police informer. The result is that what smoking is done is done in a hurry. A man might take his morning and evening smoke while hiding in his latrine, or his day-time smoke at work during a tea or lunch break. The best place, however, where one is least likely to be discovered is in the open or under a culvert. In such a place it is easy to dispose of a broken bottleneck pipe, a cannabis cigarette butt, and any other evidence. The air too is clear and that incriminating smell drifts away on the light breeze.

Much the same situation applies to the other ethnic groups. During the research one young fellow explained: "Boy, the police really hate dagga!" That is true, and the user, irrespective of his status or ethnic group, is a prime target for the special Drug Squad. But let us return to the students in this sample.

The age of both the high school pupils and the students directly reflects the South African social structure. Among the pupils the Whites are the youngest, the Africans the oldest. Among the students 14.9% of the Africans are over 24 years of age while 3.5% of the Whites fall in this age category. On the other hand 53.9% of the Whites are below 19 years of age while only 5.0% of the Africans are. This age distribution is indicative of primary and secondary school facilities, of the economic structure from which students come, but also of facilities for study, part-time jobs, and similar factors.

There is a very important factor to emphasize when comparing the White high school pupils and their university level counterparts. Among the pupils there is one school which is Afrikaans medium. The pupils come from a strict Calvinist background and on almost every issue were the most conservative group. There are no persons among the university students who claim Afrikaans as home language and we can thus presume the students to represent a more liberal element of White South African society.

If the reader keeps in mind the South African color caste system in which members of political minority groups, but particularly Africans, must use everything at their disposal to improve themselves, the question on future plans gains significance. By far the greatest number of African pupils plan to go to work. Among the students the percentage is still very high but financial factors have possibly taken their toll. Many students drop out for a year and then return or continue to study through the excellent correspondence courses of the University of South Africa. This position may also reflect the effects of the high percentage of Africans who come from homes affected by divorce, separation or death.

The solidarity of the family is a clear reflection of the conservative and religious emphasis of society. Thus the lowest separation and divorce rate is found among Indians with their strong Hindu affiliation. The picture holds true for both school and university level respondents.

The economic background of the family may influence the likelihood of the use of certain kinds of drugs. Frequently, as is the case with White pupils those at high income English-medium schools are more likely to have parents who would be tolerant of experimentation with drugs but also to have enough money to acquire such substances. It is not strange to find Whites having the highest percentage of managerial and professional parents while Africans not only have the lowest percentage of parents in these positions but also the smallest range of jobs. At the university level the largest percentage of students come from homes where one or both parents are teachers. Among

Coloureds, teacher and skilled craftsmen are most frequently mentioned while Indian parents are most frequently in various forms of business. The White students are still predominantly from homes in which the breadwinner is in a professional or managerial position.

Family income is in direct relationship to the kinds of jobs which are available. Once again we find White and African at the two extremes among school pupils as well as among university students. While the financial condition of the families of Black students is better than that of their high school counterparts the relative position is still the same.

We should be hesitant, in a culturally and ethnically heterogeneous situation such as exists in South Africa, in ascribing drug use and particularly cannabis smoking to financial or any other single cause. We must consider traditions which are historically and culturally derived.

For a long time it was maintained in South Africa, and many who should know better still maintain, that the African uses cannabis because it is inexpensive. Since the African is at the lowest level of the economic scale he would, the argument goes, use cheap alcohol and cannabis rather than the more expensive substances. I have, for some time, argued for a consideration of socio-cultural reasons. The material presented here leans convincingly in the direction of long standing traditions of cannabis use as well as the use of "tshwala", the African home brewed beer. These are cultural-historical rather than economic reasons. Much the same argument could be presented for the Indian subjects in our sample - and the Indians in Natal are financially fairly well off. Once again we find here strong continuities of ritual, medicinal and contextual uses of the drug. These involve mostly the continued value placed on cannabis in certain contexts and the method of use (e.g. with the chillum pipe). Nevertheless some changes have occurred due to acculturation. The Indians of South Africa have assumed local referents, they have borrowed the use of various hubble-bubble pipes from

Africans, and they follow much the same method of firing and smoking cannabis.

When one considers the use of cannabis, we find about the same relative percentages of users among Whites and Africans at school and at university although more people at school had tried the drug and more university students smoked cannabis regularly. The greatest range is found among the Coloureds where school-college represents a seventeen percentage range. In both categories we find that Africans have the youngest age for starting drug experimentation.

Looking at bonds of amity, we find that age-mates rather than older siblings or kinsmen usually introduce users to the drug. But the school pupils did not smoke at school nor were their school friends the most active cannabis smokers. At university this changes as more school friends use the drug. This could be due to two factors, either because friendships had become much more firmly established by this time or more likely because universities had residences where students could smoke "at school". An exception here are the Whites who have enough other opportunities due to their favorable political status, mobility, and lack of harassment.

The questions dealing with alcohol use, both of the parents and of the respondents, reflect a number of aspects that must be clarified. Among White and Coloured, and some Africans, it represents economic position. However, Indians (particularly women) use much less alcohol because of the negative injunctions in the Koran. These questions also represent one slight oversight on our part for not differentiating specifically between "tshwala" and beer, the latter being the commercial bottled variety. From earlier statements it will be recalled that these Africans traditionally used fermented drinks of which *tshwala* was the most common, having a very low alcohol content while being highly nutritious. In recent years local authorities of African administration in the urban areas have started to brew an imitation of this beer commercially. Today in urban residential areas the Africans are prohibited from brewing their own beer--not that this has prevented them from doing so--and they are expected to purchase the commercially brewed *ijuba*, known also as *K.B.* (Corporation Beer) and by more descriptive terms. In almost any bottle store in Durban a person can purchase *ijuba* and its sale is not restricted to Africans. Yet, the use of African Beer is almost exclusively restricted to the Africans. The reasons they give for using African beer is that it is a traditional drink; that it quenches their thirst; that *linomsoco* --"it has vitamins"; or that it cools one off. In fact, one middle-aged respondent said that drinking traditional beer was like drinking water, only, with the latter you stayed home but with the former you got to socialize.

Many African workers have *ijuba* for lunch or stop by the canteen for a drink after work. Thus, the worker who has some of the thick brew after lunch says he enjoys it "to quench the thirst and *ukwehlisa amaqatha*--to wash down the meal." Using the same idiom, the worker who stops off for a can of beer on his way home says "it is taken as a wash down after work."

Africans in South Africa differ quite markedly in their drinking patterns when compared to the other ethnic groups. Africans are really the only people who drink *ijuba* or variations of it; they drink very little wine and the urban Africans in our sample have no taste for wine; liquor is increasing in popularity and is becoming associated with sophistication and modernity. With this changing pattern of alcohol use we should keep in mind that until a decade and a half ago Africans in South Africa could not freely purchase alcohol. The alcoholic content of the traditionally brewed beer was, according to Act 30 of 1928, limited to two percent by volume. In time the government appointed a commission of inquiry whose positive report resulted in Act 72 of 1961 which permitted Africans to freely buy alcoholic beverages.

Urban oriented and urban committed Africans are likely to drink commercial beers and liquor, while the rural Africans are more likely to use African beer. As education and literacy increases so does the use of alcoholic beverages of all kinds, and when the respondent is urban and well educated the preference is toward a relatively greater quantity of liquor.

In addition to these kinds of alcoholic beverages Africans consume a variety of concoctions, most of which are high in alcohol content and unhealthy due to impurity. Such names as *Skokiaan, babaton, mfulamfula, isiqataviki* (kill-me-quick) and *isishimeyani* are familiar to researchers in urban South Africa and more recently *gavini* has been added to the list. These concoctions are normally purchased only by members of the lowest socio-economic class. Some of these distilled home brews are referred to as *maconsane*, literally "that which drips." While whole wheat brown bread, *ntombo*-corn and yeast are the basic ingredients, some of the more volatile concoctions have been made with potato peels or anything else that will ferment. These concoctions are prepared in secret at private homes or sold in some of the less sophisticated shebeens.

The association between the use of alcohol and cannabis by parents and their attitudes regarding experimentation and use by their children has been discussed in the previous chapter. We find there the most lenient views among Whites and the most conservative view among the parents of African school pupils.

The same ethnic differentiation emerges from questions regarding the orientation of pupils and students. African and Afrikaans pupils are very strongly parent-oriented, while the English-speaking White pupils are peer-group oriented. In both the latter categories the teacher figures strongly. But when we asked for the reasons why these young people tried or used cannabis the picture of peer pressure re-emerged. Most persons among pupils and students were inquisitive or did it for kicks. More than twleve percent of the Whites, and particularly girls at a posh English medium high school saw cannabis use as a symbol of resistence!

The use or non-use of various substances is frequently influenced by the amount of knowledge available concerning their effects. Thus folk beliefs about the danger of a foodstuff might lead to its disappearance from the market, but an absence of such beliefs (based on folk models or empirical studies) may lead to the popularization of a highly dangerous practice such as the sniffing and inhalation of benzine and other toxic solvents. The question arises then why certain young people smoke cannabis while others avoid the drug. Among African pupils and students the cannabis smoker is seen as representing the lower class or as being morally degenerate. In part this is due to the large number of unemployed who smoke or the large number of persons who have been arrested and return from jail as drug users--pressure from fellow prisoners is very great and numerous informants ascribed their drug use to a non-drug related arrest and period of incarceration. Coloured and Indian youths in both categories characterize cannabis users as psychological cases who would need counseling. In a later question (see Tables 22 and 24) these two categories of respondents recommended that drug users should receive rehabilitation treatment and counseling. Based on knowing persons who used the drug, most pupils and students saw little difference in the physical activity level of those who smoke the drug as compared to those who do not.

If students in reality saw little difference between users and non-users, we would expect to find normal acceptance of users as friends, club members and lovers. If, on the other hand, there was reserve concerning the use of the drug then this too would be reflected in friendships. We find, in fact, that an average of about 75% of all Coloured and Indian pupils and students would attempt to persuade a friend to stop smoking the drug. About the same number of African pupils but fewer African students would act in this fashion. As before the Whites would be most accepting of a drug using friend. In the latter category, however, we find the anomalous situation of the Afrikaans high school pupils. While the English pupils are relatively accepting of a drug user, and the English students in only 58.1% of the cases would react negatively, the Afrikaans pupils influence the percentage for White pupils by reacting negatively in almost 88% of the cases --the highest of any ethnic group. While almost a quarter of the students would disregard the fact of drug use in friendship less than four percent of the Afrikaans pupils would.

Moving from friendship, which presumes a friend of the same sex, to the question of dating poses the question of intimacy and the possibility of a lasting relationship. Once again we find that a very small percentage of Whites state that they would not date a person who had tried the drug while Afrikaans-speaking pupils and African pupils respond almost identically. However, among those who state emphatically that they would not date a person who had tried cannabis the Africans show a 48.2% negative response while the Afrikaans pupils are the highest of the total sample with 55.8%. Coloured and Indian fall between the former and the English-speaking Whites. Almost the identical picture emerges of relative acceptance among university students. But to make things more difficult the respondents were then asked about *dating* a *regular* cannabis user. The negative responses here are much more frequent than in the previous case and even in the case of liberal English-speaking Whites more than half would not date a regular user. The responses were as follows as percentage indicates negative responses: African 54.9% and 59.1% respectively for school pupils and university students; Coloured -76.4% and 61.7%; Indians-74.8% and 62.8%; and Whites 62.3% and 50.5% respectively. However, in the case of the White school pupils the English-medium seniors responded negatively in 58.8% while their Afrikaans-speaking counterparts did so in 77.0% of the cases. This would suggest that while persons might have a relatively open mind concerning cannabis use, its implication and effects, these minds turn conservative when the question of drug use pertains to persons with whom they are very close.

The principal reason for this conservatism and protectionism is the fear that cannabis smokers will damage their health. This is the first and most frequently mentioned effect among all four ethnic groups. In fact, this possible effect is mentioned six to eight times as frequently among high school seniors as any other possible effect. The next most frequently mentioned risk taken by a cannabis smoker is psychological dependence or addiction. Almost the exact picture emerges among college level students. But this undercurrent of conservatism which we have detected emerges more clearly in responses to a question regarding appropriate legal control for cannabis use. White and Indian high school pupils clearly prefer the same penalties while Coloured pupils would like to see the same penalties but increased use for experimental research. This latter was the first choice of Africans. In a number of places I have suggested that Africans respond the way they do in part because they have experienced harassment and in part because they must "try harder", but still there is a tradition of cannabis use among them. Now we find here that the African pupils are the only ones who advocate in any numbers the abolition of legal restrictions. Among the University and college level students all four categories suggest the penalties be retained, however, Whites almost equally suggested reduced penalties while Africans by a one percent margin would like to see the legal use of the drug in experimental situations.

South Africa, at the time of this study, did not have a rehabilitation program for cannabis users. However, we introduced this possibility in the questionnaire. Of the eight categories of respondents at school and university, seven selected rehabilitation as the appropriate punishment for a person found guilty of cannabis smoking. The sole exception is the African high school seniors. They gave a gut level response in terms of the threats they hear most frequently and in 44% of the cases stated that a person found guilty should be sent to jail. Their second choice, born of the same prototype, is that such a person should be warned and released.

Turning to the use of other drugs the former pattern holds true. The conservative Afrikaner pupils approximate most closely their African age-mates. The relatively high frequency of alcohol avoidance among Indian pupils and students is due to the strong religious undercurrent among Hindus and Moslems alike.

In retrospect, the drug use by South African students compares favorably with that of other student populations for whom we have data. But this is a temporary phenomenon. The conservative pockets of students comprise Africans (frequently those with a traditional background), Indians (and especially Indian women who are closely tied with traditional religions), and the Afrikaans-speaking component of the White population. All three are in a state of rapid change. Increasingly Africans are committing themselves to urban life styles and losing some of their rural village ties. Along with this change is the emergence of new values which frequently contradict traditional behaviors and values. The style of smoking has already changed. Africans too, because of a slowly changing political philosophy among the dominant Whites, are acquiring increased human rights with the result that arrest and jail are not as likely experienced as they used to be a decade or two ago. As African attitudes change these will be reflected in a new generation of scholars and students who share more of a world view with their fellow students of other ethnic backgrounds. The breakdown of the Indian family and increased secularization among youths is already showing its effects. This applies in particular to women where secularization and professional aspirations produce a Westernized person who competes with males and is free to use alcohol and to smoke--frequently including cannabis. It should also be kept in mind that major inroads have been made among Indians by Pentecostal and other missionizing religions. G. C. Oosthuizen has described this for the Durban Indian community and such changes represent the breakdown not only of traditional religions and values, but also the traditional closed social group. The third group which produced a conservative trend comprised the Afrikaans medium high school seniors. It is possible that persons with this background and tradition may be included among the other "White" categories and that their presence produced a conservative effect there. Increasingly we are finding that the isolationist mentality of the Afrikaner is giving way to interaction and communication, not only with Whites of other language groups and philosophies but also with many foreigners--both in South Africa and abroad. Growing contacts are also made across traditional caste-like barriers with persons of other language and color groups. While I am not suggesting a melting pot, I am suggesting that the pots are so close together that they are affecting the brews which each contains.

A study of this nature should be repeated in these same schools about 1984 which will be a decade after these questionnaires were administered. The major changes which that future researcher will probably find will fall into two categories: Those relating to the three ethnic categories just discussed, and those relating to greater experimentation and use of "other" drugs. Should marijuana be legalized in the U.S. this will probably affect the frequency of use and attitudes about the effects of cannabis smoking in South Africa.

APPENDIX

School and University Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE
FLORIDA
U.S.A.

CANNABIS RESEARCH PROJECT

1974

Director

Prof. B.M. du Toit

CANNABIS RESEARCH PROJECT

(Director: Professor B. M. du Toit)

Thank you for cooperating in this survey. Please think about each question and answer it honestly. DO NOT use any personal names and DO NOT write your name on this questionnaire.

1. What is your age (to nearest birthday)?
   (1)_____15
   (2)_____16
   (3)_____17
   (4)_____18
   (5)_____19
   (6)_____20
   (7)_____21
   (8)_____22
   (9)_____23
   (10)_____older than 23

2. What is your sex?
   (1)_____male
   (2)_____female

3. What is your home language?
   (1)_____English
   (2)_____Afrikaans
   (3)_____Tamil
   (4)_____Gujarati
   (5)_____Hindi
   (6)_____Urdu
   (7)_____Arabic
   (8)_____Zulu
   (9)_____Xhosa
   (10)_____Other

   (Please indicate)__________

4. What is your ethnic classification?
   (1)_____African
   (2)_____Asian
   (3)_____Coloured
   (4)_____White

5. What do you plan to do next year?
   (1)_____go to or remain at university.
   (2)_____go to teacher's training college.
   (3)_____go to technical college.
   (4)_____go to work.
   (5)_____undecided

6. What was your quarter's average for the previous examinations?
   (1) 75% and above
   (2) 65% to 74%
   (3) 55% to 64%
   (4) 45% to 54%
   (5) Below 44%

7. What is your religious affiliation?
   (1) Presbyterian
   (2) Methodist
   (3) Episcopalian
   (4) Catholic
   (5) Jewish
   (6) Hindu
   (7) Islam
   (8) Dutch Reformed
   (9) Shembe
   (10) Other (please indicate)________________________

8. How often do you attend worship services on the average?
   (1)_____Every week
   (2)_____Once or twice a month
   (3)_____On religious holy days
   (4)_____Not at all

9. Do you belong to any social club, e.g. debating society, etc.?
   (1)_____No
   (2)_____Yes (Please indicate)___________

10. For most of your life were you brought up by your:
   (1)_____father and mother, both living at home
   (2)_____father (separated or divorced from mother)
   (3)_____mother (separated or divorced from father)
   (4)_____father (mother deceased)
   (5)_____mother (father deceased)
   (6)_____father and step mother
   (7)_____mother and step father
   (8)_____some other relative
   (9)_____a non-relative

11. If you were not brought up by both parents at home, how old were you when the change occurred?
   (1)_____0-5 years
   (2)_____6-10 years
   (3)_____11-15 years
   (4)_____16 years or older.

12. How would you characterize your relationship with your parents or the persons acting in their place?
   (1)_____very good (we are very close)
   (2)_____all right (we get along but are not close)
   (3)_____indifferent (we do not communicate very much)
   (4)_____not good (we disagree and argue frequently)

13. Please describe as precisely as possible the occupation of your father or the main provider in your family.

14. Please estimate the total income (from all services) of your parents last year?

(1)______R600 or less
(2)______R601 to R980 (i.e. R90 per month)
(3)______R981 to R1320 (i.e. R110 per month)
(4)______R1321 to R1560 (i.e. R130 per month)
(5)______R1561 to R1800 (i.e. R150 per month)
(6)______R1801 to R2040 (i.e. R170 per month)
(7)______R2041 to R2280 (i.e. R190 per month)
(8)______R2281 to R2520 (i.e. R210 per month)
(9)______R2521 to R2760 (i.e. R230 per month)
(10)______R2761 to R3000 (i.e. R250 per month)
(11)______R3001 to R3240 (i.e. R270 per month)
(12)______R3241 to R3480 (i.e. R290 per month)
(13)______R3481 to R3720 (i.e. R310 per month)
(14)______R3721 to R3960 (i.e. R330 per month)
(15)______R3961 to R4200 (i.e. R350 per month)
(16)______R4201 to R4480 (i.e. R370 per month)
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(19)______R4961 to R5200 (i.e. R430 per month)
(20)______R5201 to R5440 (i.e. R450 per month)
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(38)______R9521 to R9760 (i.e. R810 per month)
(39)______R9761 to R10,000 (i.e. R830 per month)
(40)______R10,000 and above (i.e. R850 per mont)

15. Where did you live during most of the past six years?
(1)______Durban
(2)______another city (please indicate)
(3)______small town (please indicate)
(4)______farming area

16. During your life-time, have you used dagga?
(1)_____never
(2)_____once or twice
(3)_____three to five times
(4)_____six to nine times
(5)_____ten to fourteen times
(6)_____fifteen to nineteen times
(7)_____twenty times or more

17. Was the last time you used dagga?
(1)_____(I have never used it)
(2)_____within the last week
(3)_____within the last month (but not within the last week)
(4)_____one or two months ago
(5)_____three to five months ago
(6)_____six months to a year ago
(7)_____more than a year ago

18. On the average, how frequently do you use dagga?
(1)_____(I have never used it)
(2)_____daily or more
(3)_____once a week or more (but not every day)
(4)_____once to three times a month
(5)_____every two or three months
(6)_____two or three times a year
(7)_____once a year or less

19. If you have used dagga in the past, but you are not using it currently, please indicate the reasons for discontinuing.

20. In the next year do you expect to use dagga?
(1)_____Definitely more than once or twice
(2)_____Definitely once or twice, but probably not more than that
(3)_____Perhaps once or twice, not sure
(4)_____Not at all now, but might change your mind
(5)_____Definitely not at all

21. Was your first use of dagga:
(1)_____(I have never used dagga)
(2)_____prior to high school
(3)_____during junior high - standard 6 - 8
(4)_____during senior high - standard 9 - 10
(5)_____after completing standard 10

22. Were you first introduced to dagga by:
(1)_____(I have never used dagga)
(2)_____a friend from my neighborhood
(3)_____a friend from another city
(4)_____a friend from a rural area
(5)_____a friend at school
(6)_____Other (please specify)__________________________

23. Do you use dagga?
(1)_____(I do not use dagga)
(2)_____exclusively at school
(3)_____exclusively not at school
(4)_____primarily at school, but not always
(5)_____at home, or elsewhere
(6)_____equally often at school and away from school

24. If you use dagga while at school, do you use it?
(1)_____(I do not use dagga)
(2)_____only off school grounds
(3)_____only on school grounds
(4)_____both off and on school grounds

25. Of the three people you consider your best friends at school, how many have used dagga?
(1)_____none
(2)_____one
(3)_____two
(4)_____three
(5)_____don't know

26. Of the three people you consider your best friends at home, how many have used dagga?
(1)_____none
(2)_____one
(3)_____two
(4)_____three
(5)_____don't know

27. Please indicate which of the following most nearly describe your parent's use of alcohol

	Mother	Father	
(1)	______	______	does not use it at all
(2)	______	______	occasional social drinking
(3)	______	______	considerable social drinking
(4)	______	______	regular use, not in social situations only
(5)	______	______	problem drinking

28. How would your parents react to your use of alcohol?
(1)_____extremely permissive
(2)_____tolerant of use in social situations only
(3)_____indifferent
(4)_____disapproving
(5)_____intensely disapproving

29. Have either of your parents ever used dagga?

	Mother	Father	
(1)	_____	_____	yes
(2)	_____	_____	no
(3)	_____	_____	don't know

30. How would your parents react to your use of dagga?
(1)_____tolerant of regular use
(2)_____tolerant only if trying it out
(3)_____indifferent
(4)_____disapproving
(5)_____intensely disapproving

31. Would you please list those persons or groups of people whose evaluations of you as a person concern you the most. (Give only relationship or description, do not give names).
(1)____
(2)____
(3)____
(4)____
(5)____

32. Would you please list those persons or groups of people whose evaluations of you as a student at this school concern you the most. (Give only the relationship or description, do not give names).
(1)____
(2)____
(3)____
(4)____
(5)____

33. How would the individuals or groups you listed in your response to Question 31 react to your use of dagga? (If you have never used it, assume that you have and answer this question anyway).

Place the appropriate number, using the following key, in the blank corresponding to each individual or group named in your response to Question 31.

(1) = tolerant of regular use
(2) = tolerant only if trying it out
(3) = indifferent
(4) = disapproving
(5) = intensely disapproving
(6) = don't know

_____Person mentioned in No. 1 of Question 31.
_____Person mentioned in No. 2 of Question 31.
_____Person mentioned in No. 3 of Question 31.
_____Person mentioned in No. 4 of Question 31.
_____Person mentioned in No. 5 of Question 31.

34. How would the individuals or groups you listed in your response to Question 32 react to your use of dagga. (If you have never used it, assume that you have and answer this question anyway).

Place the appropriate number, using the following key, in the blank corresponding to each individual or group named in your response to Question 32.

(1) = tolerant of regular use
(2) = tolerant only if trying it out
(3) = indifferent
(4) = disapproving
(5) = intensely disapproving
(6) = don't know

_____Person listed in No. 1 of Question 32.
_____Person listed in No. 2 of Question 32.
_____Person listed in No. 3 of Question 32.
_____Person listed in No. 4 of Question 32.
_____Person listed in No. 5 of Question 32.

35. If you have never used dagga, please indicate the main reason that you have not.
(1)_____(Have used dagga, question does not apply)
(2)_____Not interested or curious
(3)_____No access to dagga
(4)_____Influence of parents
(5)_____Influence of friends
(6)_____Risk of being caught for legal violation
(7)_____Contrary to moral or religious values
(8)_____Risk of physical or mental damage
(9)_____Other (Please specify)______________________________

____

36. If you have used dagga, please indicate your main reason for doing so.
(1)_____(Have never used it, question does not apply)
(2)_____Curiosity, just to find out what it is like
(3)_____"Kicks", an enjoyable experience, to feel good
(4)_____Escape from problems or depression
(5)_____Boredom, for something to do
(6)_____Social pressure, to go along with friends, to be "in"
(7)_____To increase self-awareness or self-understanding
(8)_____To intensify perceptions or sensations
(9)_____Relaxation
(10)_____Expression of resistance to the Establishment
(11)_____Other (Please specify)______________________________

____

37. Of the entire student body at this school, what percentage would you say have used dagga?

38. How many students at this school do you personally know of who used dagga?

39. Are people who use dagga, on the average?
(1)_____Not much different from people who do not use it
(2)_____More sensitive and intelligent than the average
(3)_____Mainly students who do poorly in school
(4)_____Mostly from a lower-class background
(5)_____Morally degenerate
(6)_____In need of psychiatric help
(7)_____Other (Please specify)________________________________
____

40. Are people who use dagga, on the average?
(1)_____Physically active, sporting types
(2)_____Physically inactive, passive types
(3)_____Not much different from people who do not use dagga

41. If one of your close friends began to use dagga, would you:
(1)_____Discontinue your friendship with that person
(2)_____Decrease contact with the person, but stay friends with
(3)_____Try to persuade your friend to stop
(4)_____Regard his use as having no bearing on your friendship

42. Would you date a person whom you knew had tried dagga?
(1)_____yes
(2)_____no
(3)_____not sure

43. Would you date a person whom you knew to be regular dagga user.
(1)_____yes
(2)_____no
(3)_____not sure

44. If you were a member of a social club, would you vote to admit to such a club a person whom you knew had used dagga? That is, if he were acceptable in other respects?
(1)_____yes
(2)_____no
(3)_____not sure

45. Indicate which of the following you feel is a risk taken by anyone who uses dagga. (Check as many as you feel apply).
(1)_____Damage to health
(2)_____Physical dependence on dagga
(3)_____Psychological dependence on dagga
(4)_____Legal sanctions
(5)_____Addiction
(6)_____Escalation to use of opium and heroin
(7)_____Other. (Please specify)

46. What degree of legal control do you feel is appropriate for dagga?

(1) _____ There should be no legal restrictions on its use
(2) _____ Dagga use should be legal for those over 21 years of age as is alcohol
(3) _____ Dagga use should be legal in experimental and research situations
(4) _____ Dagga use should not be legal but penalties should be reduced in contrast to "hard drugs"
(5) _____ Dagga use should not be legal; penalties should stay as they are
(6) _____ Dagga use should be permitted for non-Whites, but not Whites
(7) _____ Dagga use should be permitted for Africans, but no other ethnic group

47. Considering the fact that dagga is illegal, what should the appropriate action for school authorities be to take toward students who use dagga?

(1) _____ No action
(2) _____ No action if use is away from school
(3) _____ Warning
(4) _____ Mandatory physical punishment
(5) _____ Mandatory psychological counselling
(6) _____ Social probation
(7) _____ Suspension
(8) _____ Expulsion

48. If a person involved in Question 47 were 18 years of age or older, should school authorities notify the student's parents?

(1) _____ Yes
(2) _____ No
(3) _____ Not sure

49. If a person is found guilty for using dagga only, do you think such a person should be:

(1) _____ Sent to jail
(2) _____ Physically punished
(3) _____ Made to pay a fine
(4) _____ Made to report regularly to a rehabilitation center
(5) _____ Warned and released
(6) _____ Other (Please specify) ______________________________

____

50. Please indicate, using the following key, how many times (if at all), you have used the following drugs:

(1) _____ Never
(2) _____ Once or twice
(3) _____ Three to five times
(4) _____ Six to nine times
(5) _____ Ten times or more

(1)_____Tobacco
(2)_____Alcohol (Beer or wine).
(3)_____Spirits (Whiskey, gin, vodka, etc.)
(4)_____Amphetamines (Dexedrine, methedrine, "pep pills", etc.)
(5)_____Barbituates ("Goof-balls", "barbs", "red devils", "purple hearts", etc.)
(6)_____Hallucinogens (L.S.D., Nutmeg, banana skin)
(7)_____Whiffers (glue sniffing, benzene, petrol, etc.)
(8)_____Heroin
(9)_____Opium
(10)_____Other. (Please specify)______________________________

____

51. Which of the following substances that you have not used would you be willing to try if you had the chance?
(1)_____Tobacco
(2)_____Alcohol
(3)_____Spirits
(4)_____Amphetamines
(5)_____Barbituates
(6)_____Hallucinogens
(7)_____Whiffers
(8)_____Heroin
(9)_____Opium
(10)_____Other. Please specify:______________________________

____

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